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THE STUDY
OF THE
OLD TESTAMENT

INTRODUCTION
TO THE STUDY OF THE
OLD TESTAMENT

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INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

BY

JOHANN GOTTFRIED EICHORN

A FRAGMENT TRANSLATED

BY

GEORGE TILLY GOLLOP, ESQ.

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

MY FATHER acquired a knowledge of the German language during his travels in the country in 1815–16. He translated some of the minor poems of Schiller in 1823. Later, his attention was directed to German Theology, and finding there was no English version of Eichorn's ‘Introduction to the Study of the Old Testament,’ he set to work to make one. For this purpose he studied Hebrew and Arabic; with Greek he was well acquainted.

But he gave up the task when he had translated a portion of the work, and he took no steps for printing even this. Now, in his ninety-eighth year, he has asked me to have the fragment printed. The translation was made from an early edition of Eichorn's works.

From my ignorance of the languages of antiquity, it is not within my competence to do more than to correct the proofs of the translation. I regret that circumstances prevent my calling in further help than has been kindly afforded by the printer.

The progress of Biblical criticism in the last hundred years is so great that Eichorn's ‘Introduction to the Study of the Old Testament’ may be of inferior interest to the

works of later writers, but Eichorn was a pioneer in the field of Biblical Criticism. His writings are distinguished by moderation, ingenuity, sound learning, and common sense. They may therefore still be read with interest and advantage, and their value is not altogether lost, in spite of the long period of time which has elapsed since they were first published.

CHRISTINE G. J. REEVE.

62 RUTLAND GATE: *December 1888.*

PREFACE

TO

THE THIRD EDITION.

HOWEVER willingly I might have undertaken the labour of giving an entirely new form to this new edition of the ‘Introduction to the Old Testament,’ my contemporaries have hitherto afforded me small occasion to exchange the results of my former researches against other convictions. I am obliged, therefore, to confine myself merely to remedy the defects of the former editions to the best of my judgment and power, and bring the present one up to the level of the existing state of Biblical Literature. The proposed alterations, then, affect less the entire work than its details, and I hope to have omitted nothing essential from new works which may have appeared, either to its increase or improvement. May the public be only as well pleased with the present as with past editions!

To its indulgence and the unseen blessings which, as an author, I have hitherto reaped, am I alone indebted for the courage with which undismayed I still proceed on

my path of authorship, though vexed not seldom by the unpleasant chances along the same which grudge and greed have brought upon me. Even as regards this book they have not been wanting. For although its rightful publishers and author have done everything to place it as cheap as possible in the hands of the public, and to that end its five and a half quires (of the former editions) or 126 sheets, in spite of the dearness of printing, cost the buyer, as the shop price, even without the least abatement, only 4 rixdollars and 8 good groschen, yet still towards this cheap book the ravenous hand of piracy was stretched, and immediately after the appearance of the former editions the value of their property was repeatedly reduced to the publishers and author. Notwithstanding this injury the publishers will only raise the price in proportion to the increased cost of printing and paper since 1788. Should it, however, now please the pirates, according to their usual practice, to seize the property of this new altered and improved edition, the necessary measures are already taken to reduce their false wares to waste paper.

Immediately after the completion of this new edition of the ‘Introduction to the Old Testament’ the short and popular form of the poetical scriptures of the Jews, of which I published the Book of Job two years ago as a specimen, will be sent to press, and this book also I shall make it a duty to give to the public as cheap as possible.

GOETTINGEN : *April 17, 1803.*

PREFACE

TO

THE SECOND EDITION.

THE merely theological use of the Scriptures of the Old Testament has hitherto, more than might be imagined, hindered the due estimation of these works of grey antiquity. They were searched only for religious ideas, and men remained blind to their other contents; they were read without regard to antiquity or its languages, almost as if a work of modern times, and, according to the varying strength of the readers' mental faculties, the most heterogeneous results discovered in them. One class of readers easily persuaded themselves that their religious notions were not only communicated to the Hebrews by means of many supernatural events, but that they were also, by means of a succession of similar wonders, preserved amongst them, and so handed down to posterity. Another class, on the contrary, who viewed with a clearer glance the nature of the Jewish religion and its separate ideas, resented so far the apparent improbability, incredibility, and in part the im-

possibility, of these representations, as to treat the Jewish Scriptures with mockery and contempt, and even deny them the mere justice extended to the commonest writings. This treatment went on the supposition that the Jewish Scriptures really contained everything quoted from them, and which even to a reflecting glance might seem hardly to be their necessary sense. Nothing but an expounder of their contents was wanting to reconcile thinking men to these extremely important monuments of the human mind, and a champion of their importance who might show that the greater part of the miracles and supernatural events are not contained in the books at all, but were introduced into them from mere misapprehension and ignorance of the language and mode of representation which they possess in common with all the works of remote antiquity ; and to direct their attention to the fact that these books contain so complete an account of the culture and enlightenment of an ancient people as there exists nowhere else ; that they exhibit this people to us under circumstances which reach further back than the oldest written records extant of any other known and far-famed nation of antiquity, and that they give occasion for the most important considerations to men and to human history.

These principles and objects, without keeping which in view mistake is so easy in many parts of the Old Testament, I had firmly grasped at an early period ; and to point out the same was one of the purposes I proposed to myself in the elaboration of this ‘Introduction to the Old Testament.’ For this very reason I might have chosen another plan and title had I not known how necessary it is

(particularly to a young author), even with regard to the external form of a book, to pay due regard to the reigning tone of opinion amongst his contemporaries; and I hoped that this innocent artifice of a title-page might draw greater attention to my work and increase the resort to its contents.

According to the plan thus adopted, it became necessary to commence with a prefatory chapter on Literature, in which I should strive to combine all information, both ancient and modern, with regard to the external structure of the Old Testament; and, to the extent of my means, throw light on dark matter, introduce some order into confusion, and reduce what was doubtful to a greater degree of certainty. It was necessary to apply my chief pains to a field hitherto unbroken, namely, to an inquiry into the internal structure of the separate books of the Old Testament by means of the higher criticism, a term strange to no scholar. Whatever opinion may be formed of these attempts, my conscience tells me nevertheless that they are the result of anxious inquiries, though no one feels a less prepossession for them than their author himself. One man's strength will scarcely suffice to bring these inquiries quickly to perfection; they demand a mind always alert and clear, and who can long retain this amidst such toilsome researches? They require the most piercing insight into the inner nature of each book, and what eye shall remain undimmed in the long run? Many sources from whence information might be drawn are not yet generally accessible. Who, then, at the present moment can produce an entirely perfect work? The materials

which require to be wrought for these inquiries may be gathered and utilised in the case of one or of a few books, but whose perseverance in research can hold out to the extent of all the books with like pertinacity and patience ?

Deeply impressed with this conviction, I wished to delay the task of a new edition of these attempts over a space of many years ; and in the meantime to forget entirely the results of my former inquiries, in order to test them the more freely, and be enabled the sooner to discover whether, in weighing my proofs, I had gone too far and been too hasty in my conclusions, or had failed to place my opinions in the best possible light. With this view I had settled with my friend, the late Reich, that instead of a second edition of the First Part, which soon after its first appearance became necessary, an exact copy, even to the errata and old date, should be prepared ; and still more, that the last Parts should be printed as they were at first.

In spite of these measures, the necessity for a new edition of the whole work arrived much sooner than I either wished or expected, and before I was become such a stranger to my former researches as to venture on essential alterations.

There remained to me then no other resources but the opportunities of time and circumstances for the improvement and perfecting of my former work, of which in the First general Part more traces are to be found than in the Second special one, because the former, in consequence of the progressive discovery of new sources of criticism, has been truly enriched, while for the latter nothing has been done. Even the opinions which have

reached me on the first edition, have failed to be as useful as I had hoped. The Zurich critic has made use of his Journal to enter more deeply into my subjects, and I thought at first that my best means of evincing my esteem and gratitude to him for his liberal remarks would be to tell him with equal frankness why, with the exception of a few passages, I must still differ from him, and for that purpose I had proposed to insert his criticisms, accompanied by my remarks, in every suitable place in this new edition; and, increased with these additions, the First Part had been already despatched to Leipsic to be printed. As soon, however, as I held in my hands the first twelve sheets of the new edition, I felt what had escaped me in running through my manuscript—a certain heat in my objections, which displeased myself, and a certain indecorum which by means of polemical insertions had found its way into a book which at its first appearance had carefully refrained from all hostility. I immediately, therefore, struck out all remarks of this nature which were intended for the following Parts, and employed, only silently as it were, the bright hints and remarks of my friends Brown and Adler, which they had sent me for the First Part in manuscript.

JENA: *February 26, 1787.*

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INTRODUCTION TO THE OLD TESTAMENT.

CHAPTER I.

OF JEWISH LITERATURE IN GENERAL: OF THE PUBLICATION,
PRESERVATION, COLLECTION, GENUINENESS, AND CANON-
ICAL CHARACTER OF THE SCRIPTURES OF THE OLD
TESTAMENT.

SECTION 1.—*General Considerations concerning Jewish Literature.*

If a nation can only be held to be original and to possess an original literature which from the lowest step of education has raised itself by its own strength gradually upwards, has invented its own laws and religion, and the progressive gradation of whose knowledge has never been interrupted by aids from foreign learning, arts, and inventions, in that case the Jews can pass for no original people and be held to have no original literature. To be indebted to themselves alone, they ought from the commencement of their education to have been shut up in a peculiar and strictly circumscribed land and have lived remote from the influence of all other people. Now they wandered about from their

first rise, when they existed only at first in a small family, as herdsmen, amidst various tribes; adopted from them manners, ideas, and opinions, and were subjected to an influence from them sometimes stronger, sometimes weaker. Afterwards, in Egypt, the family grew up to be a people, and although, as herdsmen (a base pursuit, to Egyptian notions), not in the closest relations with the Egyptians, yet touched by them in so many various ways that Egyptian ideas, views, and habits must have necessarily passed over to them. How otherwise came free-born Jews on their exodus from Egypt to be in possession of so many arts and trades, quite foreign to a merely nomadic people, which they exercised in Arabia in the structure and adornment of their sacred tent? How knew they to work in silver and gold, to grave jewels, and to display dexterity in many other ways, which always presuppose long practice? How in the Desert of Arabia, on the first occasion, could they have used animal-worship if they had brought with them from Egypt no love for it? And even supposing that an abode there of 430 years should have given the shepherd-folk no Egyptian bias in all the various points they were susceptible of, still Moses interrupted the regular progress of their political and intellectual education, and carried over the lights and information of an Egyptian scholar amongst them, through his institutions and his laws. This agency effected a sort of conflux of Egyptian with Hebrew mind, which, to judge from the specimens in our possession, has left a permanent influence on the literature of the latter.

But what people was ever primitive to such a degree as we have supposed, or what nations, not merely of modern, but of the most ancient times, could boast of having won everything by unaided efforts? that their manners and religion were ever free from foreign influences and their

mind never fed and enlarged by imported ideas? It is enough for originality if a people have never descended to slavish imitation, but have dealt with their borrowed and foreign notions in so prudent a manner that when mixed and dissolved with their own stores the joint materials should form a homogeneous whole; or should have given a new nature to the foreign, and converted it to its own; or should have stamped a peculiar and fixed character on its mode of thinking, manners, and mental productions, and adhered to the same with unchangeable firmness.

And in this sense were the Jews in their manners, laws, religious and political constitution, and in their entire literature, as far as we are acquainted with it, original to the highest degree. The type impressed on them by Moses they retained even as late as the Babylonian Captivity. The design their lawgiver was enabled to form for them, that they nearly corresponded to, and on this side at least they never surpassed his views, hopes, and objects; and as far as a spirit of angularity and stiffness, of obstinacy and pride, is concerned, they possessed also a sort of originality. It was the design of Moses, by means of political and religious institutions, to raise his nation from its infancy, and in the period of youth as to mind and learning to which he had raised it, it always afterwards remained. To the preservation of the higher sorts of knowledge he destined the priesthood, and they continued also the property of that order, and culture and knowledge were never much extended or general to the extinction of the Jewish State. Like all nations at the lowest step of civilisation, the Jews gave expression to their thought and feeling merely through the medium of song and poesy; their language remained always to the end of their power in the state most convenient to the poet, highly figurative and vague. But to true prose, in which the meaning of

every phrase is fixed and which for the purposes of the higher branches of knowledge and of pure science is indispensable, their language only began to incline at the end of their independence. At this time, too, the nation itself was so deeply depressed through poverty, exhaustion, and the illtreatment of haughty conquerors, its internal strength was so sunk and broken, that henceforward even its poetry, heretofore quickened by high and powerful genius, showed the loss of that life and force, and when it was too late for the nation to hew out for itself new paths, its political wisdom, far from surpassing that of Moses, was seldom equal to it. Its philosophy consisted, as with children and childlike nations, of proverbs, moral saws, and riddles. Even their learned priesthood stood with regard to intellect but a few steps higher than the nation, and, with the advantage of all the wealth conferred on them by Moses, never advanced as far as the cultivation of the sciences. Their language was never more polished nor fixed than that employed by Moses. Their historical books, in the choice and relation of events, were distinguished by the partial and limited horizon of the order itself, which regarded itself as the centre of the land and of the nation. Every event was related only with regard to themselves, to religious observances, feasts and sacrifices, without a comprehensive view of the whole and without regard to all kinds of remarkable political events; and never did the Jewish historians (if from the still extant scanty extracts we may judge of the spirit of the larger annals, which indeed has abundantly displayed itself in the former) advance further in the art of historical writing than the Greeks a considerable time before Herodotus.

He who should expect, from a nation which had remained so nearly in the state of its primitive organisation and so little changed as to that of its intellect, a multi-

farious literature of many aspects, or indeed erudition at all, must, from unacquaintedness with other polite and unpolished nations, be ignorant of what is possible to the human mind in its various states and conditions and make demands in which history will not bear him out. Nearly in all respects did the Jews fall short of the hopes and wishes of their lawgiver; was it likely that they should have exceeded them in this?

Moses had not laboured to provide for a multifarious and varied literature and the eventual introduction of real erudition, nor was it indeed in his power unless he had wished to polish his nation without paying any regard to its then situation. Before all things he must have induced the still rude tribes by new arrangements to make the difficult step from the wandering life of the herdsman to the fixed state of the agriculturist; but, as to the rest, to leave it to favourable circumstances to determine whether at some future time they may not burst the bonds of the firm, strongly entangled and intricate civil polity, by which he sought to hold them together, abolish the priesthood as ordered by him, and, by the free admission of all sorts of discoveries and knowledge, to make the second great step towards the repute of a highly polished and enlightened nation. Had not Egypt with its priesthood been the great pattern set before him by Moses in his legislation, the very necessity of the times would have compelled him to such an institution. In their youth, all the nations both of the ancient and of the modern world required a guardian to deliberate on the results of experience and the steps gained in the higher branches of knowledge, as on the first dawn of their future wisdom and native science. As long as a nation was not adult—that is, as long as it only possessed single inventions, and but a small number of the higher secrets of knowledge—

and the great mass continued still too rude and wild to be susceptible of more than common ideas or equal to the conservation of certain more exalted views which only select persons could afford ; as long as only a few persons were capable of comprehending the whole stores of knowledge, and the state of population would allow no superfluity of its members to devote themselves to the advancement of the arts and sciences ; so long did the situation of the world and of humanity require a chosen few of noble minds to become the receptacle of the fruits of knowledge hitherto won, and to transmit them in their families. Therefore also usually neither the prudence and comprehensive glance of the wisest men of a nation nor their law-giver has established such a body ; but much rather the necessity of the times, that benevolent provider for the weal of humanity in its most different states, has spontaneously enforced it, and that too amongst nations differing the most from one another and placed beyond the possibility of imitation. Were no measures taken, by means of a peculiar order, for the preservation of the steps of knowledge won, they would soon be again lost, and the light of the divinity imparted to wise men and great inventors for the use of succeeding generations would have been lent to the world quite in vain and nations backward in this respect must have continued in perpetual infancy. Still, however, a learned order of the possessors of all knowledge was adapted only to the earliest stages of education ; as soon as this is passed, such an order became extremely mischievous : it checked the progress of knowledge and prevented it from effecting the general diffusion of light amongst the entire people. It was certainly not amongst the least causes of Greek enlightenment and of the bloom and greatness of the Greek mind that followed thereupon, that the rise of its culture occurred in the times of more

adult humanity, when such an order might soon be dispensed with. With the Jews on the contrary, after the regulations shaped by Moses, all knowledge was sacerdotal, and in it no layman was initiated¹ and before they attained to that strength and ripeness of mind to enable them to abate this monopoly of the priesthood, and to participate generally in the education of Moses, they ceased to be an independent nation.

As long as the law which forbade all intercourse with foreigners was binding, so long, under the most favourable circumstances, would the attainments of the Jews fail to exceed a very moderate height. By this means all foreign inventions were lost for them; their ideas were not increased by the knowledge of strangers, nor their understanding enlarged; on the contrary, they fell under the dominion of a certain pride that mastered them like all the exclusive nations of old and new times, which regarded their land and nation as the first and most important in the world, and ended in a narrow contempt of everything foreign. Deprived of the influx of new discoveries from without, and within extremely narrowed in their notions by the order of priests, the great mass retained always its childish ideas taken from the early centuries; even the education of Moses was confined to a part of the priesthood and a few distinguished individuals besides them,

¹ If we will not lose ourselves in conjectures, but adhere to what may be traced in Jewish history, the education of the laity did not go beyond music and poetry. In these consisted the education in the schools of the prophets (Eichorn's *General Library of Biblical Literature*, Part x. § 1098), and in the order of prophets of the kingdom of Israel (same work, Part iv. § 193 ff.); and further than this we find no traces in the 'Collection of Usages,' under which denomination Nachtigal has brought together all the information possible concerning the educational institutions among the ancient Hebrews (in Eichorn's *Library*, Part ix. § 420 ff.).

who raised themselves high above their contemporaries and the great mass by the extraordinary strength of their intellect. Even the great idea of a single invisible Being as Creator and Ruler of the world—the finest peculiarity of the Jews, and which the sages of Greece and of Rome might well envy them—was a point of the wisdom of the Jewish lawgiver, not of the whole people, for whom such an idea (as we learn from history) was far too spiritual and sublime, as far down as the exile to Babylon. Already in the desert of Arabia they discovered their propensity to animal worship, which they had learnt from the Egyptians, and in the land itself to the polytheism of the Canaanites, from which they were at times merely restrained by force, and always returned to it as soon as that force was withdrawn, and whose inaptitude as thinking beings was only perceptible to a few great minds. It was only through and after the impressions wrought upon the nation by foreigners in its exile that its understanding by increased ideas and knowledge became sufficiently expanded and enlightened fully to comprehend this exalted notion, and never afterwards by example or pretence whatsoever to suffer itself to be deprived of it.

And any advantages from these which might have resulted to education and learning were counteracted by the situation and fortunes of the Jews. As long as they wandered about as herdsmen along the free pastures of the East, they were merely fitted to retain their traditions and pastoral poetry. Under the forming hand, however, of Moses, they were accustomed to much which must necessarily precede the first steps in education; but soon after these preparations, during the times of the wandering and hero-feats under the Judges, they again retrograded. The wild freedom of the war and battle-song may have grown in strength and power under these circumstances,

but the mind of the nation (as far as the term is applicable to a people in this state) declined both in genius and refinement. The Jews forgot even their dexterity in the handicrafts which they had brought with them out of Egypt, and Solomon was obliged soon after, for the building of his temple and the works of art connected with it, to send for foreign artists. After long-continued poverty they attained at last a certain degree of wealth, and its splendid consequences were soon displayed amongst the Jews by the rapid rise of the arts which without wealth can never flourish. David had much enriched his treasury by the spoils of many of the nations conquered by him, and which, according to the ancient wild war-right, he had caused thoroughly to be plundered. It had soon after by means of the flourishing trade on the Red Sea additional accretions, and Solomon came to the quiet possession of the treasures inherited from his father. Under his government all the arts of luxury soon made their appearance amongst the Jews: a proof of the capacity of every nation, provided favourable circumstances be only afforded it. Now under his encouragement and the support of his riches, works of art were wrought, temple and palace erected, and the capital embellished with as much taste as was to be expected ere the Greeks flourished. But the glory of the kingdom, together with that of all the arts, ceased suddenly with his reign. Even before the expiry of the reign of Solomon, the public treasures were exhausted, and the otherwise only moderate means of individual citizens consumed through participation in the court luxury, and afterwards through royal exactions, and the entire State, through all ranks, enfeebled. The dismembering of the State which followed, and the incessantly destructive wars both from within and without, sank both peoples in the deepest poverty, and from the

absence of all other sources of help down to the lowest political weakness, which subverted at the same time the national intellect. Thus after Solomon internal disorders and wars with powerful neighbours completed the impossibility of regeneration. History, however, shows that in the case of great and powerful kingdoms even all-destructive wars cannot entirely cast down the monuments of knowledge once firmly erected, nor can the arts and sciences that already flourish be quite annihilated; but with a nation yet weak in intellect and political strength they kill the early bud to which the time for its expansion has been denied.

SECTION 2.—*Importance of Hebrew Literature.*

These remarks are not intended to disparage the monuments which we still possess of the Hebrews. He who despises them because they descend to us from a nation which never reached a high degree of civilisation, and whose mental capacity was exercised only on one side, such a man must manifest ingratitude for the weightiest services, or be so unjust as to require from the first weak glimmering of the dawn the broad daylight of noon.

Much more will every free and impartial reader who has a taste in general for writings from Asia (a country so little known to us), and also from such early times, be powerfully attracted to them, both from their contents and their primitive and original spirit, and never lay them down without a feeling of reverence and gratitude for the fortunate chance which has preserved them. Should we not even be disposed to regard them as the archives of the most rational religion of antiquity, in which we may trace the gradual rise of the human understanding up to the

sublime doctrine of one God, and the contest of polytheism for so many centuries with that great principle, still in numerous points of view the Jewish Scriptures are of the greatest importance. In them we find a rich collection of true national poesy, which every judge of that kind of composition must hold in high honour, and amongst its kinds of which, even amidst the much richer remains of Greek literature, scarcely anything of importance has survived the spoil of time. Oracles, for instance, all nations possessed up to a certain point of their civilisation ; and who had more of them than Greece of the oldest date ? and yet, from their abundance, only inconsiderable fragments remain to us ; of the Hebrew oracles, on the contrary, a considerable number of entire prophecies are preserved. Who would not give a part of Pindar's songs of triumph for his lost religious hymns, seeing that nearly all the Greek poems of this kind have perished ? Of the Jews we possess ancient temple songs, in a tone of solemn devotion and of the highest originality. And no one, with a true feeling for poetry and the power to realise the transactions of bygone days, has ever read this and other species of Hebrew poetry without admiring the old Oriental spirit which they breathe, and rejoicing that we are at least acquainted with it, though not in a satisfactory degree, from the samples of an Eastern people. Another circumstance of high value attached to the greater part of these remains is their grey antiquity. The most belong to times of which not a line besides is extant. The oldest Hebrew historians existed for some years before the acquaintance of the Greeks with the art of writing, and their latest historian was about contemporary with Herodotus, the father of Grecian history. Moreover, the Hebrew historical and poetical books, as primitive works of Asiatic intellect, are the most valuable archives for the history of

human development, for according to tradition and other sources the human race sprang up on the soil of Asia, and worked itself thereon slowly upwards. They contain likewise, not merely the history of the Jews and a picture of their culture and civilisation, but, by means of their collections of the proverbs of their predecessors, aids towards the history of the entire human race. Where else were the books which preserve for us such pure sayings of the childhood of humanity losing itself in the mists of time ; or the monuments which teach an equally fine philosophy concerning the origin of the universe, or are able in general to supply the place of the Hebrew library in the history of mankind ? How much poorer in important and credible information would our otherwise sufficiently defective histories of the states and people of antiquity be without the writings we inherit from the Hebrews ! And were it fully within the purpose of the present work, it would be possible to place in the clearest light the importance of the yet extant fragments of Hebrew literature by an enumeration of the amount of multiplied information which lies scattered up and down in it, and which we owe to it alone. Goguet¹ and Gatterer² have made a fine beginning for such a work ; let these speak for it instead of myself.

Instead, then, of scoff and disparagement, let us rather offer thanks to fortune for these yet extant blossoms of Oriental mind, lamenting, however, at the same moment that time, which has dealt so gently with so much literary refuse, has swallowed up so many of the most precious gems of literature, to which the Jewish memorials certainly belong, and yet wondering on the

¹ Goguet, *Concerning the Origin of the Arts and Sciences amongst the most Ancient People.* Paris : 1758.

² Gatterer, *History of the World,* Part i. Göttingen : 1764-72.

other side that so much has missed its gnawing tooth. Egyptians and Chaldeans, Phoenicians and Hebrews, the four most ancient civilised peoples, played for a long time near each other distinguished parts in the theatre of nations, and left to their posterity many written monuments of their civilisation and ancient splendour. None amongst them all had to pass through a series of greater and more universally destructive changes than the Hebrews; they were torn, after the old wild fashion by their haughty conquerors, from their habitations and transplanted to a foreign land, and ceased here, for a time dispersed amongst strange tribes, to be even a peculiar people. The former, however, even to their names, have disappeared, whilst these have survived their State, though scattered throughout the world, and are after the lapse of centuries a distinguishable people. Of the former, again, all the monuments of their literature to its very last fragments are lost; or, if some broken bits remain, so wretched and unconnected as not at all to diminish the loss of the rest; of the Jews, on the contrary, an entire library of the most important and ancient writers is still extant—so ancient that the works of the Greeks in comparison degenerate down to modern productions. As with the Jews, so also in Egypt, Phœnicia, and Babylon, all the higher branches of knowledge, as well as the most important writings, were entrusted to the guardian care of the priests; and their entire literature¹ followed the fate of the priesthood and of the temples in all the three States. As soon as the priesthood was abolished, ensued incontinently the destruction of all the hereditary intellectual stores of the nation and of the fruits of the industry

¹ Meiner's *History of the Rise, Progress, and Decay of the Sciences in Greece and Rome*, Part i. § 53, contains a fine number of instances of the kind collected from the ancient history of Greece.

and experience of many centuries ; as soon as their temples were destroyed, all the works of literature were buried beneath the ruins. The preservation of so many and of such considerable fragments of the Jewish literature under like and in part more widely-wasting catastrophes than befell these people appears absolutely a miracle of time. What is the natural explanation of this phenomenon ?

SECTION 3.—*Publication of New Writings amongst the Ancient Hebrews.*

It was through all antiquity the custom to deposit all works of the intellect—as laws, contracts, inventions, and even mighty works of literature—in a holy place, particularly in the temples of the divinities, and, as works the fruits of their own inspirations, to entrust them also again to their protection for preservation and transmission to posterity. Such conduct was held to be a manifestation of the author's gratitude to his fostering divinity ; as a means of procuring more respect to his work through the sacred nature of its place of preservation and as the best security against its early destruction. In particular also was it usual with nations who had appointed the priest-orders as the guardians of all the fruits of their experience, as the Egyptians, Phoenicians, and Chaldeans, to place their writings, whether of priests or of laymen, in the subterranean vaults of their temples.

According to this custom also, Moses commanded his laws to be kept in the holiest place of that tabernacle which he had constructed in the desert of Arabia, by the Ark of the Covenant, and made thereby the God of his nation to be, as it were, the guardian, upholder, and establisher of the laws which had emanated, as he held,

¹ Deuteronomy xxxi. 9, 26.

from Himself. His example was followed by others, and so the foundation was laid of a library of sacred writings,¹ of whose enlargement in even our scanty books of Jewish history we find some traces. The information concerning the covenant which Joshua made with the Jews before his death, and the mode in which he inculcated the exact observance of their national laws, was laid in the holy place by the side of the Laws of God.² The agreement of Saul, Samuel laid before Jehovah in the sanctuary ;³ and the genealogical table of the Jews, that part of history so important in the eyes of all Orientalists, was, at least at later periods, preserved in the temple.⁴ Whether, however, this national library, during the remaining times of the State existence, was increased by the addition of new writings ; whether the Jewish chronicles, the oracles of the prophets, and every other kind of intellectual production before the Babylonian exile were placed by the side of the Covenant, and that their formal publication consisted in such deposition in this holy place, which so many learned men adopt as indisputable⁵—to decide these questions, since proof from old historians fails us, we are, alas ! some centuries too late.

But probably it was so. If stories, which, through oral tradition, have acquired a fabulous form, spring, however, always from a ground of truth, we may perhaps venture, from the reports of temple archives—of which some affirm the rescue by Jeremiah on the conflagration of the temple, others consign together with the temple to the flames⁶—

¹ *ἱερά γραμματα, ιεροι λογοι,* signified also with other nations their most ancient writings.

² Joshua xxiv. 26.

³ 1 Samuel x. 26.

⁴ Michaelis' *Law of Moses*, § 51.

⁵ Rich. Simon, *Histoire critique du N. T.* p. 30.

⁶ Epiphanius, *De Pond. et Mens. c. iv.* p. 162 (Opp. t. ii.), where,

to infer the existence of a collection of holy books in the temple; and was not, after the Babylonian exile, what still remained of the writings of the old times collected and, at a date soon after the foundation of the new State on the banks of the Jordan, a library formed in the newly-built temple, of which traces spring up even in the history of its destruction by the Romans?¹ And is it not natural to conclude that this was only an imitation of an old temple library of the times before the exile, of which the memory after that event was not yet extinguished? The example of Moses, whom, even in matters which he had not expressly commanded, they adopted so willingly as their pattern, the advantage therein of every author, the unanimity of ancient nations, even of those who had no established order of priests, in this practice, the late traditions concerning it, and the similar institution after the exile, raise the conjecture of a temple library at Jerusalem, in which the most important writings of the Jews before the exile were to be found, to a high degree of probability.

SECTION 4.—*Preservation of the still extant Jewish Writings.*

In the meantime, whether we adopt or reject the theory, little is gained or lost for the history of the Hebrew books which are still extant. Was ever such a temple library in existence, still our present Hebrew writings are not to be considered as immediately descended to us therefrom,

however, his faulty text requires the following correction—διὸ οὐδεὶς ἐν τῷ Ἀρων ἀνετεθησαν, τοιτέρῳ ἐστιν ἐν τῇ τῆς διαθηκῆς κιβωτῷ. Of the tradition respecting the books burned with the temple and afterwards restored by Esdras, see Augustin. *De Mirabilibus*, lib. 2, *fine*; Basil. ap. Froben (Opp. t. iii.), p. 532, ‘Esdras, Dei sacerdos, combustam a Chaldaeis in *Archivis Templi* restituit legem.’

¹ Josephus, *De Bello Judaico*, c. 17; *Antiq.* lib. vii. c. 6; *De Vita*, § 75; Roland, *De Spoliis Templi Hierosol.* p. 51 not., p. 76 not.

or as booty rescued from the flames of the temple. We are more indebted for them to fortune than to any intentional preservation.

The story of Jeremiah's having removed to some place of security the holy books, together with other sacred property, before the burning of the temple, is indeed a mere conjecture, employed for the purpose of completing our accounts of the fate of our Hebrew writings, and of connecting them with the older temple library, concerning which the accounts were too well authenticated to admit of doubt. Without it, I can well imagine, the preservation of our Jewish monuments must have seemed to the inventor of the tradition inexplicable, because no copy of them was supposed to exist out of the temple; or the story was invented with the pious view of giving to the new temple the respectability and sacred character of the old. Had Jeremiah really rescued the temple library, and was our inheritance of Hebrew literature to be derived from the treasures there discovered, it would have been, in all probability, richer, more manifold, and comprehensive. In the temple lay, probably, annals at large of the kingdom, and our present historical books are either extracts therefrom, or abridgments of other larger historical works which approached the temple annals in regard to fulness and compass. In the temple there was preserved, it is likely, a far greater and more complete collection of prophecies than we possess, since our present one, with the exception of the more perfect prophecies of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the other prophets who lived after the overthrow of the State, consists partly of merely unconnected fragments of prophetical poesy, and partly of pieces confined to the short space of a few generations. From these circumstances we are at liberty to conclude that through the remaining far greater spaces of time there was no deficiency

of prophecies, that they were, however, destroyed along with the temple, and that we should have lost all the prophetic poesy of the Hebrews had not accident preserved for us a few books of prophetic anthology or extracts. Of proper temple songs—of which, with a people so rich in poetry, for their numerous festivals, their religious repasts, and other solemnities, at which song and dance were the chief points, there must have been a great supply during the existence of the temple, and the various feasts therein celebrated—we possess but a small number, which, moreover, appear partly to have been composed in modern times, and those subsequent to the exile. Therefore the series of Hebrew literature downwards must have been far richer had we possessed an ancient temple library rescued by Jeremiah.

Much more probable is it that our present very poor collection was preserved dispersed in separate pieces amongst private persons; and that on the restoration of the Jewish State, after the conclusion of the exile, the ancient temple library, as far as could be accomplished by the collection of the dispersed separate writings, was re-established; and that, consequently, to mere chance and to Cyrus we are obliged for our fragments of the Hebrew literature. Had Cyrus withheld his consent to the planting of a new colony on the Jordan, and the construction of a new temple, these fragments would have never been brought together, and the absence of the occasion for founding a sacred library (that is, the absence of a temple, which according to the notions of antiquity behoved also to be adorned with holy books), time, and the continually decreasing familiarity with the language, mode of thinking and manners of the old world, would have deprived us of the little which we still possess.

All the circumstances at least lead to this hypothesis.

A part of the present extant writings of the Jews existed once, there are evident tokens, in numerous copies, and were universally read. Of the laws of Moses—and, since these could scarcely ever have been separated from the rest of his works, of the writings of Moses in general—many copies were indispensable, particularly after Jehoshaphat established tribunals in single cities, which were bound to interpret the Mosaical laws. It is also natural to suppose that religious Jews in good circumstances must have had copies made for themselves of their law-book in order to possess as their own property the greatest jewel of the nation. Is it not, then, possible that copies of the Mosaical writings in the hands of the judges, of their families, or of other private persons, may have survived the exile? And since, as works of the greatest man known to the people in the days of antiquity, they would be esteemed above all other productions of the human mind, and through reverence copied with far greater exactness than other writings either contemporary or of recent appearance, the copy of them received into the new temple library after the Babylonian exile would have been far more perfect and its text reached us in a state more free from corruption than the other Jewish Scriptures.

The books of Samuel, of Kings, and of the Chronicles, are summaries taken from the complete State annals which are occasionally quoted, and, from their contents, must have been intended as manuals of the history of the Jewish monarchy, and according to this destination have been undoubtedly current in numerous copies. The lives of David and of Solomon were at first extant as an entire work, of which we now possess two different editions, whereof each is treated in its own manner and enlarged by its new editor. Abstracting the new matter introduced,

we shall find that the original work was so cast as to be adapted to the general reading of the people ; whatever might offend the royal house, all scandalous scenes in the lives of David and Solomon, were passed over in silence. This doubly edited work of the lives of the two kings was placed at the head of two chronicles, one of the kingdom of Israel, one of that of Judah, which again were so epitomised as to appear meant to be a popular text-book. It is evident from all sides that works of that nature imply the existence of numerous copies. And if Isaiah, the lesser prophets and the Psalms arose from a collection of prophetic and lyrical poesy, as from a closer examination of their contents is evident, then nothing is more probable than that they came into the hands of the compiler of our Old Testament in the shape of private manuscripts and may serve as a new ground for the conjecture that before the exile many of our now extant Jewish books circulated in numerous copies.

And how, without this supposition, can the relation in which the authors of the Old Testament stand with regard to one another be explained ? Often they are in the relation to each other of original and copy, and if the connexion between them is not so close, they still borrow figures and expressions from one another—one alludes or refers to the other or inserts whole passages from him.

Finally the present condition of the Hebrew text favours this conjecture. Since the restoration of their State under Cyrus, the Jews have watched with an incredible care (which may be partly superstition, partly an excessive reverence for the ancient works of their nation) over their sacred scriptures, and sought to guard them from all corruption, either accidental or from perverse intention. They copied them through all the centuries through which we can follow their pains, with an exactitude which,

though it could neither remove nor render impossible mistakes in single words and consonants, yet necessarily prevented the occurrence of great gaps and omissions. And yet it may be shown, to a high degree of critical probability, that they have suffered in more than matters of mere trifling moment: passages of greater or less length are lost; others are transposed, and so corrupted as to be proof against restoration by the highest degree of critical genius. Those errors, however, existed in the manuscripts of the oldest Greek translators, who lived but a few centuries later than the compilers of our Old Testament; and in case the original Hebrew manuscripts, in the few centuries between Ezra and the Greek translators, as in the many between them and us, were copied with the same superstitious care, as appears probable, so the same faults were, it is likely, to be found in the manuscripts which were used at the collection of the Old Testament. Did our Hebrew Scriptures originate from the copy in the first temple, it were natural to suppose them derived to us from the manuscripts of the authors, or from one of the first copies made from them, and in that case a far richer and purer text was to be expected. Its present condition and defects, for which no remedy is now to be found, appear to result from very corrupted manuscripts, such as private copies would probably be, which were not made with that anxious nicety which began only after the Babylonian captivity.

SECTION 5.—*Collection of the Hebrew Scriptures after the Babylonian Exile.*

Soon after the termination of the Babylonian exile and the foundation of the new State in Palestine, all the remains of the ancient writings in the possession of the

exiles were collected, and in order to give to the newly-erected second temple all the advantages of the first, a library composed of these remnants of the Jewish literature was founded, to which we give the general name of the Old Testament. The existence of a temple library after the exile is undeniable, for in still later times an ancient temple copy is spoken of, and perhaps was even carried by Titus in triumph to Rome. If a temple library existed, would not its re-establishment be contemporary with the completion of the new temple? Would not Ezra have commenced, and Nehemiah and other Hebrew patriots have enlarged, it? Moreover, all the Jews sent from time to time from the Persian court to Palestine exerted themselves to give solemnity to their divine service. Under such circumstances, the tradition of the Jews (taken at large indeed unsafe) which assigned to Ezra and Nehemiah the collections of the scriptures still extant in their time, cannot be denied all grounds of probability. Still, however, no careful inquirer, and no one anxious for historical truth, will give full credit to the fables of the later Jews concerning a ‘*Synagoga magna*,’ and its multiplied transactions both learned and unlearned¹; but would not true facts lie at the bottom of the information we have respecting it (as is the case with most legends of the kind), and which Jewish wit alone would have clothed in romance? Does Ezra, perhaps, who properly as a priest should have been named from his office בָּבֶן, bear the name of ‘the writer’ (סֹפֵר) because by means of his exertions about the holy books of his nation he did good service which distinguished and adorned him above the duties of his

¹ Rau, *De Synagoga magna*, has absolutely demonstrated that the greatest part of the information of the Jews concerning it bears the stamp of improbability; but the whole tradition must still have its ground in a fact, otherwise it would never have come into existence.

priest's office ?¹ And did not Nehemiah, according to an early recorded tradition, found a holy library in the temple ? Should all this intelligence be rejected because Josephus does not repeat it ? Does he not speak here and there of the library of the second temple ? Does he not mention the merit of Ezra and Nehemiah in its completion and embellishment ? To the last belonged, according to the universal opinion of the ancient world, a collection of sacred books : was it necessary that he should mention by name every ornamental portion ? Or does an otherwise early recorded tradition first become authentic when mentioned by Josephus ? How many tales current merely through misunderstandings and credulity does he repeat with a sincere countenance ? And has he not introduced into his work much later traditions, particularly in his history subsequent to the Babylonian exile for the first time, as far as we know, as true historical fragments, although they wear much more the appearance of fable than of truth ?

I wish to decide nothing, but I cannot, with the satisfaction of my historical feeling, declare a tradition to be so remote from possibility in whose favour, type of ancient times (the old temple library), even temporal circumstances, the situation of the Jews, and the objects of the founders and reformers in Palestine speak so loudly.

Even the doubts which in modern times have been brought forward against this representation appear to me of little moment. ‘We cannot admit’ (says a new opponent of the same²) ‘that the Jews in the time of Ezra

¹ With this also the other meaning of the word בָּנָה is well consistent, which below (§ 497) is fully explained. The two meanings together are required to exhaust the idea.

² In the *Library of the most recent Theological and Philosophical Literature* (Zurich : 1784–8), Part i. period i. § 176.

entertained such exalted notions of the rise and divine character of their ancient books as in the days of Josephus and in all subsequent times. And without this extraordinary veneration they would scarcely have taken the measures for so solemn a collection of the remnants of their literature and provided for their preservation in a holy place, since not only the laws of Moses, the psalms, the oracles and religious expositions of the prophets, but also collections of philosophical sentences, extracts from chronicles, an idyl and the story of Esther and Mardochæus (a production whose object was rather to give pleasure than instruction), are to be found therein. What people even thought of gathering all their national books—the newest not excepted if they are sufficiently well known—to prevent them from being lost, as if from that epoch no more were to appear? If it be said that the Jews saw that the days of the prophets were past, I ask how they knew that in the times of Malachi. And how came also so many writings into this collection which are neither oracles nor have any relation thereto?

This objection scarcely arose in old times. The collection consisted of a deposit in a holy place, in the temple: to this belonged no unprecedented character, it was the imitation of ancient custom, some attention to the necessities of the time and some obedience to its signs, which directed attention to the adornment of a temple which had risen again out of its ashes. The whole undertaking required no long previous attention as to whether the writings to be deposited in the temple were holy or divine; for in early times the ancient archives of a people were all looked upon as holy and divine, and even the Greeks described as holy and divine many sentences and traditions either because they were really old or held to be

such.¹ It was not necessary to employ any previous examination as to whether all the writings which it was determined to deposit in a sacred place were of like contents and value; for the old world used to preserve in holy places, not merely oracles and religious writings, but also all the other works of the intellect by whatever names they might be distinguished. Such was the place assigned by the seven and other sages of Greece for the reception of their apophthegms, enigmas, and riddles. Here also the Egyptian, Phœnician, and Babylonian priests placed their historical works, and the latter their astronomical observations, as did the former their receipts or lists of household medicines, and others other kinds of the works of intellect. When the determination was formed to restore everything which had once existed, it became necessary to think of re-establishing the ancient sacred library, or, since it was impossible to recover the entire store of ancient writings, and, after the lapse of a half-century, even to show what writings were once contained in the great temple library, to think of the restoration of a library for the reception of all the ancient (that is, holy) books which were yet to be met with, in order to render it as like to the first, which had perished, as possible. To this was added the account of the recent settlement of the Hebrews on the Jordan, of the first constitution and subsequent reformations of this colony and of the origin of the feast Purim, because with the ancients it was generally usual to consign a work immediately after its appear-

¹ So with the Chinese the 'Ring' are only holy or (according to the expression of the Jesuits) canonical books as far as they are national archives; and if their respect for them go so far as consecration, they only follow therein the leaning of many nations, who convert all their national traditions into divine revelations, whereby, through mistake, they perplex altogether an ancient representation which belongs to the childhood of the nation.

ence to the care of the Divinity. Ezra, perhaps, began the collection, Nehemiah carried it on, and perhaps for some space afterwards other Hebrew patriots; but for many centuries before the birth of Christ its further increase was stopped: it was for a long time previously a single entire and concluded work. He, then, who can still ask, What nation ever thought of gathering all its national writings down to the very last, which were, however, sufficiently known? must have accustomed himself to regard things merely in the light of modern times and be ignorant how difficult it was with the ancients to save even a newly-published work from quick destruction, since a few copies only could be provided at great cost? Or he who can ask whether the collection was made in the opinion that from that epoch no further writings were to appear, does not consider that for the most part mere accidents, even in modern times, are sufficient to check the increase of a public collection of archives; or he has merely thrown out this query for the sake of asking a great deal.

Shortly after the exile (proceeds the latest opponent of this idea) ‘the authors of the Kohelet (Ecclesiastes) and of the “Song of Songs,” denied to be Solomon’s, may undoubtedly have been living. How, then, could the compilers have taken these books not for Solomon’s work, and neither by a change of the superscription nor by added indices have pointed out the place to which both belonged?’ They did neither, because they did not wish to destroy the deception. The name of Solomon, the Preacher, belonged to poetry, and did any one, in the ancient times, from the hymns of Orpheus downwards to the latest poetical works, where any importance was attached to the true name of the author, ever permit himself to add to the name of the famous man in whose mouth everything was put (without exactly perpetrating

a fraud) the name also of the real author? And have not the compilers (to judge from other marks) always refrained from making any changes whatever in the discovered writings, even to the small matter of the inscriptions (section 532 below). And even were this not the case, in what way is it to be demonstrated that the real authors of the Song of Songs and of the Preacher were known by name to the compilers?

'But shortly after the exile, the older sources from which the book of Samuel and the books of Kings and Chronicles were taken, were undoubtedly still in existence; did indeed the extracts which were new, and far less venerable, obtain a place in the temple library and these sources not?' Truly, indeed, would they have gotten such place, but certainly not alone, but in company, if the more ancient annals had survived the Babylonian exile. But probably they had long perished, and only short summaries, drawn from them in early times, had, in the hands of private persons, escaped the depredations of time.

'It is true' (concludes the author in his objections) 'already in the second book of the Maccabees the tradition is mentioned, which purported to be found in certain writings, that Nehemiah was the collector of the writings of the Kings and Prophets, and of the gifts of the kings; but what fables are related at the same time out of these same books about the sacred fire and the covenant!' What critical inquirer would not be far from defending such fables as truths? But would he dare on account of some fables to break the staff over all the information contained in an author, without exception? And what judgment must be passed upon Herodotus, Livy, and all historians, who have recorded old traditions, which consist always of a mixture of truth and falsehood, if they

are to be treated according to these principles? And should we venture, in the case of an author in other respects fabulous, absolutely to reject a fact of the kind whose truth or falsehood might have come to light, at each moment, when he flourished? Or have we grounds for supposing the author of the second book of Maccabees to have been so devoid of shame as to invent a falsehood of which he might be immediately convicted? He supposes a collection of sacred writings in the temple. This, therefore, must have existed in his time, and if we refuse to believe, on the credit of his reputation alone, that Nehemiah contributed to its formation, nevertheless the concurrence of many circumstances above brought forward renders this so likely that the unsettled credit of the historian, with regard to this relation at least, is much strengthened.

At what time the collection, which began with the completion of the new temple, terminated, and no further addition was made to the old books, cannot, however, at the present time be determined, since no author has left any express information on the point; we must consider, however, the termination to have occurred a considerable time before the birth of Christ, because at so early a period they were in some way distributed under three chief heads by Palestinian and Egyptian authors, by Philo, Josephus, and the New Testament. Had not the distribution of this library been at that time firmly fixed the description of it would not have been universally the same.

SECTION 6.—*Name of the Collection.*

For a considerable time before the birth of Christ, the sacred writings of the Jews, differing so much as they do from one another in regard to authors, contents,

and the time of their composition, were spoken of as one whole; but not known, however, till the first century after Christ by a fixed universal title. The authors of these times, whose writings we still possess, hesitate betwixt the general expressions ‘Book,’ or ‘Writing’ in its most exalted sense, or ‘Holy Writing.’¹ Sometimes they describe the whole collection according to the parts of which it was composed, as ‘the Law and the Prophets,’ or as ‘the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms’;² sometimes they speak of ‘faithful books,’ ‘books composed by prophets’;³ sometimes of ‘holy writings which were preserved in the Temple’;⁴ sometimes of ‘a holy library.’⁵ Later, it was called, after the example of the Apostle Paul (as was intended), the ‘Old Testament’ (*παλαιὰν διαθηκὴν*), in contradiction to the New which Christ had established.⁶

Out of *παλαιὰ διαθηκὴ* the Church Fathers fashioned

¹ βιβλια, 2 *סָפָרִים*, 2 Timothy iv. 13; γραφη, 2 Timothy iii. 16; ἱερα γραμματα, 2 *כְתַבֵּי סָפָרִי הַקָּדוֹשׁ*, 2 Timothy iv. 15; γραφαι ἀγιαι, Romans i. 8.

² Matthew v. 17, νομος και προφηται; Luke xxiv. 44, νομος, προφηται, και ψαλμοι; Josephus, Maccab. xviii. νομ., προφ. και ἀλλα (βιβλια). So also Sirach, Prol. 1; Josephus, *Contra Ap. lib. i. c. 8, ν., π.* and ὑμνοι προς τον Θεον και τοις ἀνθρωποις ὑποθηκας του θιου παρεχοντες. According to Philo, *De Vita Contempl.* (Opp. v. ii. p. 475, ed. Mang., p. 893, ed. Francf.), the holy books of the Therapeutae were νομοι, λογια θεσπισθεντα δια προφητων και ὑμνοι και τα ἀλλα, οις ἐπιστημη και ευσεβεια συναυξονται και τελειουνται.

³ Josephus, *Contra Ap. lib. i. c. 8.* Compare § 40 below.

⁴ Josephus, *Antiq. lib. v. c. i. § 17*, δηλουνται δια των ἀνακειμενων ἐν τη φιερφ γραμματων.

⁵ 2 Maccab. ii. 13, Νεεμιας . . καταβαλλομενος βιβλιοθηκην ἐπισυνηγαγε τα περι των βασιλεων και προφητων και τα του Δαυιδ και ἐπιστολας βασιλεων περι ἀναθηματων.

⁶ 2 Corinthians iii. 14. Compare Matthew xxiv. 28. Only Paul uses *παλαιὰ διαθηκὴ* in the passage quoted of the Mosaical writings, as Sirach xxiv. 24, 25, 2 Kings xxiii. 2, in the LXX.

new names, as, διαθηκογραφα, ἐνδιαθηκα βιβλια, and so on.¹ But, contrary to the sense of the Apostle Paul, the idea only of a Testament was present to the minds by these expressions, in which the Vulgate by its *sanguis novi testamenti* (Matthew xxvi. 28) had anticipated them. Chrysostom was the first to give currency to the words βιβλος, βιβλιον, βιβλια, sometimes of the Old Testament, but sometimes of the Old and New, in like manner as Jerome and Isidore had introduced the striking name Bibliotheca Sancta.² With the later Jews, besides the general words ‘Book,’ ‘Holy Books’³ ספְרִים, הַקְדֵשׁ, מִקְרָא (ספרי, הקדש, מקרא), the expression ‘the Twenty-four Books’⁴ עֲשָׂרִים וְאֶרְבָעָה (עשרים וארבעה) was usual—the last as the title of the manuscripts as well as of the editions of the Old Testament. For as the Greeks arranged their Homer in twenty-four Rhapsodies and Theophrast’s writings in twenty-four books, according to the number of the letters in the Greek alphabet, in like manner the Jews in the old times divided their holy writings, according to the real number of consonants in their alphabet into twenty-two books (sect. 42). But soon

¹ Origenes, *Philocal.* c. iii. p. 24; Suicer *Thes. Eccles.* v. διαθηκη.

² Chrysostomus, *Homil.* ii. t. v. p. 7; Suicer, *Thes. Eccles.* t. i. p. 687; Isidorus, *Orig.* lib. iv. c. 3.

³ The name מִקְרָא arose from Nehemiah viii., where it is used of the Law book of Moses, which was read in public; and the Rabbins also employ the word in this limited sense. In the larger sense it signifies the entire collection of the holy books of the Hebrews, which should be read as a duty as the first of all books, in the same manner as the Mahometans name the collection of their religious doctrines Koran قرآن (that is, the book of books, which deserves to be read before all). Sometimes מִקְרָא is contradistinguished from the Rabbinical glosses and explanations, and then signifies ‘the text’ which is being explained: Rich. Simon, *Hist. crit. du V. T.* p. 59; Hottinger in *Thes. phil.* p. 88. The modern Jews first used מִקְרָא in the sense of a ‘pointed copy’ of the N. T. *Repertorium for Bib. and Eastern Lit.* Pt. iii. § 116.

after the birth of Christ the Jews, partly from whim¹ and partly to render it like the Greek in the number of consonants, introduced two Yods into their alphabet, and from that time they reckoned twenty-four books.²

SECTION 7.—*Arrangement of the Collected Books.*

The order in which the writings of the Old Testament now follow each other appears to be of extreme antiquity. Jesus Sirach the elder reckons out of the Old Testament the famous men, who deserve the esteem of posterity, in the very same order in which they succeed one another in our editions: the twelve lesser Prophets he throws together in one book and places it after Ezekiel (Sirach xlv.—xlix.). According to the New Testament, in the manuscripts of that day the series of Hagiographa commenced with the Psalms and the book of Chronicles closed the entire collection. For Christ uses the term Hagiographa of the Psalms, which He names as the first book thereof (Luke xxiv. 44³); and when He wishes to cite the first and last instances of the shedding of innocent blood, from

¹ They held it to be a matter of weight and importance that even in their alphabet the name Jehovah should be to be found by means of three Yods, by which the later Jews are accustomed to express it.

² Hottinger, *Thes. philol.* p. 101, has collected the necessary proofs to this point.

³ Truly only after an exegetical conclusion, which rests on the following reasoning: ‘because Josephus, Philo, and the modern Jews indeed always divide the O. T. into three parts, and we also here find three names, Moses, Prophets, and Psalms. Secondly, since by the two first parts with Josephus, Philo, and the modern Jews, Moses and the Prophets (as here) are meant, so it is probable that the third term, Psalms, also means the third part.’ Now the only remaining point of debate is whether the third part includes all the now so-called Hagiographa, or only as many books as Josephus sets in the third class, or as Philo includes under *ἱμνοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις*. And here a very learned *pro* and *con* may be carried on, into which, however, I must decline to enter, since a way out is scarcely to be found; therefore the above

the history of the Old Testament, He chooses the example of that of Abel from Genesis as the first book of the Old Testament, and that of Zachariah from the book of Chronicles as the last book of all (Matthew xxiii. 35).¹ Still these passages do not ascertain the collocation of each single book. And perhaps as little in ancient as in modern times was the precise identical position of single books in the general series universally observed. In the Talmud, the five books of Moses are followed by Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, the twelve minor Prophets, Ruth, the Psalms, Job, Proverbs, the Preacher, the Song of Solomon, Lamentations, Daniel, Esther, Chronicles.² The Masorites, on the contrary, arrange the greater Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, according to the order of time observed by the exact Spanish manuscripts. The Germans, however, adhere to the order of the Talmud. In the Spanish manuscripts the Hagiographa has the following order: Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ruth, Song of Solomon, Preacher, Lamentations, Esther, Daniel, Ezra. The Germans, however, have the arrangement: Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Song of Solomon, Ruth, Lamentations, Preacher, Esther, Daniel,

reasoning I deliver over to the general mercy. Only I should hold the objection for unimportant, that the Psalms are by no means to be considered a part of the Hagiographa because no piece thereof except the Psalms contains any account of Christ's Passion. It may well on the contrary be asked where, then, in Moses the prophecies concerning Christ's Passion and Resurrection are to be met with, which, to the best of my knowledge, no one, without sinking to the depths of the typical, has yet discovered. Moses, the Prophets, and the Psalms signify only the Old Testament, without fixing the very books in which the prophecies are to be sought.

¹ Acts of the Apostles vii. 42, Amos is cited: ἐν βιβλίῳ τῶν προφητῶν. Hence does it follow that the N. T. also considers the lesser Prophets as a book.

² *Baba bathia*, fol. 14, b.

Ezra, Chronicles.¹ And even from these arrangements many variations are to be found in the manuscripts.

These diversities, however, spring often from mere accidents, but sometimes the occasions were more important, which are yet at present but seldom to be accounted for, and the explanation afforded by the Jews is often of doubtful value. According, however, to the representation of the modern Jews, Isaiah was placed after Jeremiah and Ezekiel, in order that, after two prophets who speak so much of the destruction of the State and temple, a book full of consolation might follow. Perhaps, however, this reason was invented only because the true one was preserved by no tradition. Perhaps Jeremiah and Ezekiel were placed first because unity of authorship characterised the prophecies of both, and Isaiah received the third place because his prophecies were alloyed by the addition of many others of an anonymous character and the offspring of very modern times (section 520), and he, on account of these recent additions, was considered unworthy of the first place, but on the other hand, as a prophetical anthology, was made to occupy, with a wise regard to propriety, the place before the second prophetical collection, that of the twelve lesser prophets.

SECTION 8.—*Distribution of the Same.*

The distribution also of the prophets of the Old Testament into three parts, into ‘Law (*תורה*), Prophets (*נבאים*), and Hagiographa (*כתובים*)’ in the main extends as far back as the collection itself. For the present usual disposition of the separate writings is primitive (sect. 7), and traces of the said division are to be found in the writings of the Jews long before the birth of Christ. It is in fact implied

¹ Elias Levites, *Præfat. tertia ad Massoreth Hammassoreth.*

in the description of the Old Testament. Jesus Sirach the younger, Philo, the New Testament, and Josephus use it (sect. 6); only at that time no universally-adopted name for the third part, the Hagiographa, existed. Therefore the above-named were obliged to call it after the first book of its contents, ‘the Psalms,’ as occurs in the New Testament; sometimes to distinguish it by the title ‘Ethical Writings,’ and the like, as do Jesus Sirach, Philo, and Josephus. The first trace of the name Hagiographa (**כְּחֻבִּים**) is to be found in Epiphanius, who expresses it very literally by *γραφεια*.¹

However, it may appear that the Jews, after the birth of Christ, placed many books among the Hagiographa which were formerly assigned to the Prophets. For Josephus reckons only four books to the Hagiographists, and on the other hand enumerates thirteen Prophets (sec. 40); contrariwise Jerome and the Talmud and the modern Jews count eight Prophets and nine Hagiographists (sec. 55, 56). But doubtless the division with Josephus is a classification quite peculiar to him, which was founded, not on the series of the single books in the manuscripts, but on what was customary in his time, the habit of assigning to prophets all books not the composition of poets in the strict sense of the word.

However general amongst Jews and Christians the division into ‘Law,’ ‘Prophets,’ and ‘Hagiographa’ was, still it was unsuitable. This was felt by its very inventors the Jews. For since under the category of the Prophets not only authors were included who had declared prophecies, but also the authors of the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings, the necessity arose of making a second distinction, namely prophets of the first and second class, (**דָּאשְׁנִים**) *priores* and (**אַחֲרִים**) *posterores*.

After the birth of Christ the expression ‘canonical and apocryphal’ writings of the Old Testament began to be used (sec. 15 foll.).

¹ Epiphanius, in *Panarium*, p. 58.

SECTION 9.—*How far can the Authors of the Old Testament be termed Prophets?*

It was usual, after the example of Philo and Josephus, to include the authors of the Old Testament under the name ‘Prophets’ (*נְבִיאִים*), Nebiim (sec. 28, 44). This expression was confined in the beginning to its sense in the Bible which applies the large appellation Nabi, or *προφῆτης*, to authors of very different kinds. Gradually the custom arose of using the expression in its highest sense, and of indicating thereby a man taught by the immediate instruction of the Deity ; and Josephus finally made the credibility and certainty of Hebrew history to depend on the fact of its authors being styled Nebiim (*προφῆται*).

Prophet, or Nabi, signifies with the Jews every confidant of the Divinity, according to the most various inflections and modifications imparted to the word by the shifting forms of human representation changing with time and experience. The farther we go back into the times of the old world the narrower do we find the knowledge of men with regard to the nature of things and the causes of their changes, destruction, renovation, and return. It cost thousands of years to enable the human intellect to comprehend that all changes are connected with one another like the links of a long chain, and to form an idea of eternally immutable laws by which all the workings of Nature are regulated. Everything was much more derived from the immediate agency of a powerful and invisible being dwelling in the objects subjected to change ; and all nature was animated with ghosts, daemons, divinities, or by what other names each tribe might distinguish these invisible beings. They not only accounted for the more terrible changes in nature by this

theory, such as thunder, lightning, hail, tempests, &c., but not a tree stirred, nor soft breeze blew, without impressing the oldest children of nature with the notion that these appearances also arose from particular beings (a god of the winds). Plants, flowers, trees, springs, grottoes, rivers, hills—in short, everything, from the sea beneath up to the stars above, was quickened and animated and inhabited by invisible and powerful beings, a true world of spirits, a widely diffused Polytheism !

Amidst such ideas the most ancient languages were formed. Gradually does the rude child of nature step from the first degree of education up to the next ; by experience he learns the causes of changes separately ; and his polytheism decreases as his store of knowledge augments. At length the idea occurs to him of the influence of a higher being on the occasion of those phenomena which excite his astonishment or are distinguished by a too great strength of function or extreme difficulty of observation, till finally the high light of mental illumination disperses also this last mist of ignorance. In the meantime these traces of the days of infancy do not so soon disappear ; they have become once for all so deeply impressed on the language that even in the times of more enlightened ideas and correcter views of the causes of things and of their changes, the old puerile representations continue in the expressions of all those who speak the language ; though, without any intention, on the part of the speakers, of pretending an assignment of causes. In short the old hieroglyphic is there ; it has, however, exchanged its old rude sense for a more intellectual one.

Just so narrowly began the notions of unenlightened man concerning the changes which take place in the spiritual world ; and just so slowly as in the physical did

they become enlarged and corrected. In the oldest times, thoughts, inventions, and dexterity are never the property of the individual, or the result of his natural powers, but the gift of some higher being; events in the spiritual world proceed in an unbroken chain just as little as in the natural; much more there seems to be no end to external interruptions; the free natural movement is nowhere to be found, but everywhere foreign guidance step by step. Thoughts are voices of the Deity in the inner man; inventions and skill are His gifts; the arts of agriculture and the cultivation of the vine, and the most important contrivances in the handicrafts are taught from above—in a word, men are the confidants of the Deity and in constant communication with Him. Still, however, these thoughts are only divine in the beginning; with the increase of education the traces of mental progress are discernible, and the manner and means in which skill is acquired are more and more laid open, and from that time forward divine intimations gradually decline. Now they are the limited privilege of only extraordinary men, who in their intellectual power rise far above their contemporaries, and now no longer common and everyday notions passed for divine suggestions but great and important ideas, largely comprehensive conceptions, great conclusions from present circumstances, striking views into futurity and the like. Men of great intellect, sages, prophets, and lawgivers, are henceforth the confidants of the Divinity. He who ventures on a connected discourse, either oral or written, or with greater presence of mind and boldness, speaks with force and energy, even in these times of already-advanced education, undertakes a work beyond the usual strength of the men of his day¹ and his superiority receives from them the explanation of a special Divine assistance.

¹ The appellation of such confidants of the Divinity is derived

Supposing now in the progress of centuries and experience the human understanding to have reached its pinnacle so as no longer to esteem the immediate interposition of the Deity necessary to the solution of such difficulties; and that it is also generally acknowledged that the difference of parts amongst contemporaries depends upon difference of natural capacity and its cultivation, and a thousand other circumstances; that to every man, indeed, a portion of Divine power has been imparted, the developement of which is superior and finer in one than in another, and according to the measure of whose distribution the operation is more powerful in one than in another; still upon that account the old expressions respecting great men are not altogether rejected, but acquire in the speech of enlightened days a sense entirely different from that in which they were first employed.

If then these old popular ideas are to be applied to a Hebrew Nabi, which to my knowledge no author has as yet done, every author of whom we possess the least fragment in the Old Testament would be entitled to that appellation. But even the Jewish authors upon whose authority we have retained the name, connected therewith quite different ideas. They had formed a peculiar scheme concerning their national sages of the old world, which, looking to its origin, they could only account for by supposing a certain infusion of the Godhead, which, according

indeed from the oral discourses. With the Hebrews they are called נְבִיאִים, as with the Greeks μανομένοι. They appeared in early times, when from poverty of speech they were compelled to eke out their discourses by looks, mute expression, and gesticulations, and the whole body co-operated in order to express the thoughts which they wished to impart to their hearers. Every public discourse was, therefore, a μανεσθατ, an *insanire*, שָׁנָע, 1 Samuel xviii. 10, Jeremiah xxix. 26, which seems also to be the fundamental idea of נְבָא. Compare *Simonis Lex. Hebr.* ex ed. I. G. Eichorn, Halæ, 1793, 8.

to their system, was used from time to time to descend upon them.¹ If we imagine in prophets men who in the very highest and only possible sense were subjected to the influence of the Deity, the term can by no means be made applicable to all the writers of the Old Testament. The Jewish historians, for instance, could scarcely have been under that high influence. If they wrote the history of their own times, they recorded matters with which, as contemporaneous, they were already sufficiently acquainted; if they described the adventures of bygone times, they drew their materials from sources already in existence; and the internal structure of the books of Jewish history shows that their origin, like that of the other old and modern historical works of the East, is altogether human.

SECTION 10.—*Some General Ideas concerning the Language in which the Old Testament was written.*

The language which the Hebrews spoke, and in which the Old Testament was written,² was a dialect of the widely-spread Semitical language. It was also closely related to the language of all the tribes which dwelt on the shores of the Mediterranean sea, and with and amongst whom the Phœnicians (Hamites by descent) settled; consequently, therefore, related to the language of the greatest commercial nation of antiquity, which not only was visited by the, at that time, only known three parts of the world for purposes of trade, but possessed also partly factories, partly colonies, in Asia, Europe, and Africa, and, therefore, because they had exchanged their Hamitical tongue for the

¹ See only the passages from Philo, § 28.

² Only in the books written during the abode of the Jews in Chaldæa do any passages in the Chaldæan dialect appear. Daniel ii. 4, vii. 28; Ezra iv. 8, vi. 19, vii. 12, 27.

idiom in use on the shores of the Mediterranean, they gave an extremely wide currency to the latter. This was as nearly related to the two chief dialects of Asia—the Aramaean, which was spoken in Syria, Babylon, Assyria, &c., and the Arabian—as the Ionic dialect to the Doric and Æolic, so that it cost these nations but little pains to communicate with each other in their speeches. Therefore the Old Testament was written in the language of all the civilised nations of that day except the Egyptians.

To fix the relationship of this widely extended dialect with the languages of the other tribes of Asia is impossible, because its origin is lost in the mists of the earliest times. Even the inquiry into its antiquity can amount to but weak conjectures, and he who should determine to pursue its history beyond the Noachian deluge would venture on an enterprise whose result must be the remotest probabilities. Still the Hebrew language claims an extremely high antiquity and must have been the idiom of very early civilised tribes. Not only in Moses' time was it already fully perfected, but, as in his very first book older verbatim inscriptions are introduced, it must, centuries before him, have received the polish necessary for literary composition. About this time the high symbolical spirit, breathed in the early infancy of languages, had already evaporated, it had become subjected to the shackles of written letters and of fixed grammar; and although it was fashioned by Polytheism (as its inner structure shows), it had become at this time fully adapted to express all the ideas connected with the unity of God and to the exposition of other spiritual ideas for which rude languages have no forms. He only who has followed the history of the gradual formation of a language will be able by such experience to acquire a true notion of the extremely high antiquity of the Hebrew tongue or of that fruitful mother

of many daughters, the Semitic. How many centuries are required to subdue a rude language—to round its corners and cast away its stiffness and inflexibility! How long does it serve the purposes of poesy alone! How long does it possess expressions for merely external objects! And when the number of words and expressions is become ample enough, how long is it compelled to carry over everything that is mental into the bodily world and still ring for ever with images and parables in order to enunciate but a small number of intellectual ideas! And what labours and preparations, and what series of centuries must not the Semites have expended, to compass the possibility in the Hebrew language of only that Song of Creation with which the writings of Moses commence! The nature and internal structure of the Hebrew language at the time of Moses compels us to believe that the art of using letters for centuries in succession, combined with convenient writing materials, must have worked together for its perfection; and because its influence had already appeared in such great works and the old lofty language of poetry had subsided to nearly the level of prose, and become fettered by grammatical rules, it is to be inferred that the use of letters and of convenient writing materials was no longer a secret confined to a few persons but that it had been already applied to the purposes of common life. Who, then, may undertake to fix the number of centuries necessary to bring this important work to this high degree of perfection?

SECTION 11.—*Various Idioms of the Hebrew Dialect.*

Indisputably in the time of Moses the Hebrew dialect was already divided into numerous idioms. In Egypt it was spoken by the Jews under influences of an entirely different nature, of an entirely different people, and of an entirely different language from those under which it was used by that part of the Hebrew nation which during the sojourn of the rest in Egypt wandered up and down in Arabia with their flocks and herds. With the latter an education under the sway of a different nature, intercourse with a different Semitical tribe, the Arabs, and a nomadic mode of life different from that of the Egyptians, must have wrought their peculiar effect on the language spoken by them ; there must have arisen, in the different lands in which it was used, not only a variance in pronunciation, the employment of certain words and forms and the like, but also the tongue itself in every land would acquire a particular hue, or the fate of the Hebrew must have been different from that of every other well-known language in the world. But in what quarter and under which tribes the language of learning was formed, or which tribes preceded the others in cultivation and with its advances improved also their language, extended it, and rendered it best adapted for use in written records—these inquiries (although they regard an important object), since history is silent thereupon, we are no longer in a situation to answer.

In the meantime, according to the nature of things and the analogy of letters in other nations, Moses must have written in the most polished Hebrew idiom, which had been employed already in literary attempts, which the ancient verbatim inscriptions quoted in the first

book of Moses prove.¹ And after him, all the still extant authors, even to Malachi downwards, including a space of more than twelve hundred years,² wrote in the very same Hebrew idiom, not, as if the Hebrew tongue, contrary to the example of others, had for ever continued unchanged—not as if centuries³ and provinces⁴ had exerted no influence upon it—not as if it had never degenerated into greater and lesser dialects, as everybody knows was the case with the Arabic and Greek languages. In all probability we ought to distinguish between the learned language of the Jews and that in common use.⁵ No idiom approached the former in flexibility, none wrapt itself more lightly and firmly around all ideas, none possessed equal copiousness and regularity. It was studied by Moses in the old national records just

¹ In like manner the Ionic dialect was used by Hesiod, Herodotus, Hippocrates, and other Greek authors, from whom, considering their birthplaces, the use of an entirely different idiom was to be expected. They employed, however, the former because it was the earliest and most polished.

² According to the usual reckoning, 1160 years.

³ And **הַוָּא** נָעַר in both genders, and perhaps יְדֻעָן, 5 B. Moses viii. 3 (the preterite with a paragogic Nun, if it should not be pointed יְדֻעָוִן) are known archaisms in Moses.

⁴ The Ephraimites pronounced always סְבִלָּת and the rest שְׁבִלָּת, Judges xii. 6, and the guttural letters עֲחֹנָה they pronounced without distinction as נָה.

⁵ If בְּנֵי הַוָּא, 2 B. Moses xvi. 15, is to be translated ‘which is that,’ the word used in common life was בְּנֵי where authors used בְּנָה. Much of the variety of expression of individual authors must already be lost to us, because all are provided with vowels according to the same rules, and the same pronunciation is applied to all. For instance the Dual in the Hebrew provinces was probably differently pronounced, of which we possess some trace still in the double forms שְׁתִים and שְׁתִיִם, שְׁנִים and שְׁנִיִם; and would ever יְרוּשָׁלָם have been written for יְרוּשָׁלָם, unless many persons had pronounced יְרוּשָׁלָם? Are not in the German dialects *ai* contracted into *ae*, and *ei* into *e*?

as Homer sought his style from the songs of the ancient Greek bards, and the former again was with the Jews as Homer with the Greeks, the principal source from whence all following writers drew their language. In him rested the first germs of the images, pictures, and descriptive modes which after centuries became expanded in the heads of the Jews, because he was their *auctor classicus* and national handbook. Hence the provincialisms and barbarisms at the times of the Judges, when the new colony in Palestine existed half a wilderness; hence the declension from the usual language of the Bible in the passages where words from common life were adopted, either accidentally or intentionally; hence soon after Moses the interrupted cultivation of the Hebrew tongue; it had through him, as the Arabic through the Koran, already reached its golden age, because the Jews regarded Moses, as the Arabians their Prophet, as the pattern of the purest style in writing.

With all this, making allowance for those shades which always distinguish one author from another, a certain similarity of characteristic expression amongst the authors of one province must be acknowledged which clearly divides them from those of another.¹ In short, the dialect of each province affected the book-language, and the longer an author lived after Moses the greater was its influence, and towards the end of the State, from the traffic of the Hebrews with the Chaldaeans, Chaldaeisms obtained Hebrew burghership, in which at last the pure style of Moses was wholly lost.²

¹ Compare the Samaritanisms in Amos and Hosea: for instance, Amos vi. 8, מְתַעֵב instead of מְתַעֵב; Hosea vi. 6, נְמָסָךְ instead of נְמָסָךְ in the masculine suffix of the second person which the Samaritan Pentateuch writes נְמָסָךְ, &c.

² See for this, the introductions to single books of Jeremiah, Ezeziel, and others.

SECTION 12.—*Genuineness of the Scriptures of the Old Testament.*

I.—They come to us from no Impostor.

He who with knowledge and impartiality examines the question whether the writings of the Old Testament are genuine, will certainly be compelled to answer it in the affirmative.

1. They cannot all be the invention of one impostor—this every part of the Old Testament declares. What a variety in language and expression ! As Isaiah writes, so does not Moses, nor Jeremiah like Ezekiel, and between these and each of the lesser Prophets a wide cleft of style is established. The grammatical structure of the language in Moses is very peculiar ; in the book of the Judges provincialisms and barbarisms appear ; Isaiah casts the store of words into new forms ; Jeremiah and Ezekiel are full of Chaldæisms ; in short, as we proceed from the authors placed back in the early times onwards to the later, we find the language in a gradual decay, till finally it settles down into a shape absolutely Chaldæan.

Well then, what variety in the movement of ideas and extent of imagery ! The harpstrings of Moses and Isaiah give a rushing sound, but their chime is soft beneath the hands of David. The muse of Solomon glitters in the pomp of the most voluptuous court ; but her sister, clad in careless array, wanders with David by brooks and banks, on plains and with flocks around. One poet is original, like Isaiah, Joel, and Habakkuk ; another a copyist, as Ezekiel. One wanders along the untrodden paths of genius, whilst another steals by his side over beaten ground. From one stream forth rays of erudition, whilst from his neighbour a spark has never issued. In the

oldest author strong Egyptian colouring glitters throughout, in his successors it grows fainter and fainter, and becomes quite extinguished in the last.

Lastly, also, in the manners—the finest gradation ! At first everything single and simple, as in Homer, and still with the Bedouin Arabs ; this noble simplicity becomes gradually lost in luxury and effeminacy, and vanishes at last in that most voluptuous court of Solomon.

Nowhere a leap ; everywhere a gentle gradual progress ! Only ignorant or thoughtless sceptics can affirm the Old Testament to be the work of one deceiver.

SECTION 13.—*Also not the work of several Impostors.*

2. But perhaps several impostors made common cause and in some later century effected (at the same time) the forgery of our Scriptures of the Old Testament ? But how was it possible for them to invent a mode so adapted to the progress of the human understanding ? How was it possible in later times to obtain the language of Moses ? This visibly exceeds all human power. Finally one author presupposes the existence of another (sec. 4) ; they could not, therefore, have arisen all together, but necessarily in succession.

‘ Perhaps, however, such deceivers arose at various times and carried on their forgeries, from where their false predecessors had left off ? which will account for the references of one author to another, and explain the striking gradation observed throughout.’ But, first, how was it possible that the cheat should remain undiscovered, undenounced, and the deceiver miss the mark of that branding-iron which would have operated as a security to posterity ? How was it possible that a nation should permit itself to be deceived more than once, at various times ?

And what purpose could the deceiver have in view ? To aggrandise the Hebrew nation ? In that case his eulogies turn into the coarsest pasquinades, for according to the Old Testament a very unworthy part is always played by the Hebrew people ? Or to degrade the Hebrews ? But how in this case could the nation suffer books to be obtruded upon it which contained calumnies, and as often as the victorious stranger trod them with his feet to the ground, consoled them with the dry narration ?

SECTION 14.—*Marks of Genuineness.*

1. Moreover, the Old Testament bears all the marks of genuineness in itself. Just the same grounds which are alleged in defence of Homer, support also the genuineness of each separate book of the Old Testament. Why should the justice which is granted to the former be withheld from the latter ? If a particular age be assigned to a profane author, and all the circumstances of his book both internal and external coincide therewith ; doubts upon the point will be entertained by no impartial inquirer after truth. Nay, where the age of an author is unfixed, is there the least hesitation felt in deciding his date upon the internal evidence afforded by his works ? Why, then, should the critical inquirer hesitate to take this very road only with regard to the Bible ?

2. No one has hitherto successfully disputed either the honesty or credibility of any writer of the Old Testament ; much more, every discovery in ancient literature hitherto made has afforded fresh confirmation to the Old Testament. Further, no one has yet shown that the style of any author of the Old Testament is inconsistent, in point of knowledge and circumstances, with the age in which he is stated to have lived.

In short, all the books of the Old Testament, the names of whose authors we know, have the stamp-marks of the honesty of their writers. And with regard to the books with whose authors we are unacquainted, internal evidence will compel the admission of their genuineness. The book of Joshua, for instance, whose author is unknown, goes so deeply into the details of the oldest geography that miracle upon miracle must have been wrought upon an impostor to render such performance possible.

Let search be made with intelligence and without prejudice, and I am sure every one must be convinced of the genuineness of the books of the Old Testament.

It is, however, to be taken for granted, what for other reasons was to be expected with regard to such ancient books, that most of the writings of the Hebrews have passed through various hands, before acquiring their present form, and that in them sometimes old and new are found mingled; this will, however, not induce an impartial judge to throw doubts on their genuineness.

1. There is no instance of any surviving ancient author, of what nation soever, whose text has not undergone many alterations and interpolations. Sometimes intentional glosses were made, and old words and expressions and geographical names exchanged for new, in order to clear the sense to the modern reader; sometimes remarks were made on the margin, for the writers' or others' use, without any intention of their introduction into the text, but which have been subsequently interpolated by the excessive zeal of posterity. Before, then, the genuineness of a book can be affected by such passages, a careful previous critical examination must be made, as to whether they originally stood where they now are, and really flowed from the author's pen.

2. The intermingling of old and new passages and

sections arose by necessity from the very mode of origin of many of the writings of the Old Testament. The smaller number came to us in the form in which we now possess them, from the hands of their author. With regard to many, the substance was already extant in separate works, before being bound up together, with certain parts now added to them. Supposing the Mosaical books in their present disposition not to be the work of Moses, still they are composed of Mosaical materials, merely put into form by a later hand. It will be demonstrated in its proper place that the chief foundation of our present ‘Samuel’ and ‘Chronicles’ (particular lives of David and Solomon) attained its actual form by passing through, at least, the hands of two very different editors, of whom each increased and enriched it with his own peculiar additions. For a time the first sixteen chapters of the book of Judges formed by themselves a whole, in which nothing further was recorded than the feats of Hebrew heroes; afterwards an annexation was made of five chapters, perhaps (if we may venture to assign the circumstance) because the piece of skin or linen intended for this heroical record was not yet full of such traditions, and had still capacity for a supplement of some extent, and the economy observed with regard to writing materials in old times would not permit the blank space to remain unemployed. Similar subsequent supplements were made to both Moses and Jeremiah. Our Isaiah is a collection of various anonymous prophetical poesy, of which much appears to belong to the time of the Babylonian captivity, and to which the name of Isaiah was given, that no part might be lost. Our Psalms, according to their actual arrangement, attained their present extent after the exile, by the junction of several larger and smaller Books of Songs. The materials of our Daniel were at first extant in separate pieces, composed in

various idioms, and a later friend of the celebrated writer first brought together all the discoverable separate pieces of his or concerning him. The golden proverbs of Solomon were from time to time increased by contributions; even in the time of Hezekiah additions were made to them, consisting partly of the sayings of the Wise King himself not hitherto collected, and partly of the apophthegms of other wise men of the old world. In short, it was the custom to arrange old and new together, and to connect with one another what was capable of such disposition—sometimes to increase the extent of separate books and suit the rolls in size to one another, sometimes on account of similarity of matter, and so on. And this, in all probability, was the mode of proceeding in the old times before the captivity, but chiefly afterwards on the occasion of founding the new temple-library.

Were it now resolved to describe as forgeries all books whose every part and passage fell short of congruity in point of time, then truly very few genuine writings of the Hebrews would survive such a sentence; but at the same time this would be a great blow to the classics of both Greek and Roman antiquity. As with regard to the latter so in the case of the former, it behoves the higher criticism only to exercise its office and pronounce sentence after separating, from internal evidence, what belongs to different authors and times. He who blames a Biblical scholar, or even sighs with pious apprehensions, when he beholds him instituting with critical precision and judicial severity an examination into each book of the Old Testament with this object in view, such a person must be either altogether unacquainted with antiquity, profane literature, and the usual mode of dealing with it, or be so entirely destitute of strength of mind as to be incapable of perceiving the serious consequence of omitting to apply a

test of this nature and also the otherwise invincible army of doubts, which only by the method proposed can be driven from their intrenchments. And he who, holding such proof to be alike useful, important, and necessary, should from sensitive and over-anxious piety wish to prescribe a law to the critical inquirer, only to separate where external marks afford occasion or compel to such division: such a person in the realm of crititism must still be classed among the weak and would still endanger the character for genuineness of the greatest number of Hebrew writings. The ancients, however, had a custom at times of marking the end of a book by a subscription: as, for instance, Moses and Jeremiah did and the authors of an old collection of Psalms, by means of the words, ‘Here end the Songs of David.’ Continuators also indicated the places where the continuation commenced, by a marginal note, as in the Proverbs of Solomon, by the words, ‘These also are the Proverbs of Solomon, collected by the men of Hezekiah.’ But such examples are rare; and for the most part it becomes necessary by entirely other means and by the finest operations of the higher criticism, to attempt to discover what through the progress of time in an ancient work is interpolated and appended.

SECTION 15.—*Canonical Authority of the Books of the Old Testament—Canonical and Apocryphal Writings.*

Soon after the return of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity a collection was set on foot of all the still extant writings of the Hebrew nation, held venerable and holy for age, contents, and authorship by all the members of the new State, and of them a holy library was formed in the temple, which at some very early period (the exact year is

not known¹⁾ received no further accession (sect. 5).²⁾ After the time of making the collection, authors of various kinds, historians, philosophers, poets, and theological romance writers, still arose amongst the Jews. They possessed, therefore, books of very unequal contents and of different periods: the ancient, as works of the Prophets, they held as holy, the modern not, because they were written when the continued series of Prophets no longer existed; ³⁾ the ancient were kept in the temple (sect. 39),

¹⁾ If, according to Josephus, it closed with the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, that is only his private opinion, founded on his representation of the Book of Esther (see § 8, 41).

²⁾ I know not what probability can attach to the opinion in the Zurich *Library of the most recent Theological and Philosophical Literature* (B. i. § 180), that the Jews were not agreed with respect to the number of their sacred books till after the compilation of the Talmud. If a far earlier and in all respects settled collection had not existed, how could Josephus, Philo, and N. T. have used such decisive expressions concerning it, or Josephus have distinguished the ancient writings of his nation into two kinds? He speaks of such as, being written before the times of Artaxerxes Longimanus, were esteemed credible (or divine), and of others composed after Artaxerxes Longimanus, which were not considered equally credible; must not, then, the point, how many belonged to one class and how many to the other, have been exactly defined? ‘It is, however, an established opinion that amongst the orthodox Jews as various judgments prevailed from time to time respecting their sacred books as amongst Christians. Is not Daniel highly esteemed by Josephus, but disparaged by the other Jews, Ezekiel almost rejected from the Canon, and the estimation of Esther unequal?’ Certainly; but how can later and private opinions be made the test of what the old and national opinion was? And we know well what the grounds were which gave occasion to their derogatory judgments of the said books. Their contents were the rock of offence. History afforded no grounds for their hostility; would they not, in order to get rid of books so grievous to them, have appealed to the times when they were not included in the class of sacred national writings, had ever so weak a tradition encouraged the provocation?

³⁾ Josephus, *Contra Ap.* lib. i. § 8, expresses himself as follows of these modern writings: πιστεως δε οὐχ' δμοις ἡξιωται της προ αὐτων, δια το μη γενεσθαι την των προφητων ἀκριβη διαδοχην.

the modern not; the ancient were formed into a public collection, the modern, as far as I am aware, not, at least not into a public one. And had not the Alexandrian Christians been such warm admirers of the latter and annexed them (if originally written in the Greek language) in the original, but if composed in Hebrew in a Greek version, to the manuscripts of the Seventy, who knows whether a leaf of all the modern Jewish writers would be still in existence ?¹ To these two kinds

¹ The *Zurich Library* makes also some objections to this. ‘There are proofs in existence,’ it says (Part i. § 178), ‘that the Greek Jews extended gradually, to more writings than the Hebrew Jews possessed, the honour of being classed as ancient, holy, and venerable monuments from the times of the old world, nay even as primeval dictations of the Holy Spirit. The Apostles, Apostolic Fathers, and doctors of the Church, make no difference in their quotations between various counterfeits and the canonical writings of the O. T. Jude cites the Anabasis of Moses and the Books of Enoch; Paul, the Apocalypse of Elijah, and probably also other Apocrypha; Matthew, an apocryphal work of Jeremiah, which the Hebrew Christians possessed as late as the times of Jerome; Clemens, the false Ezekiel; Hermas, the Eldad and Medad. It is clear that these books were both known and honoured by the converts from the Greek Jews. They were neither gifts from the Apostles, nor first recommended by them. Moreover, the Church Fathers, Clemens and Origen, who were in the habit of quoting the Apocrypha without distinction, were not the introducers of this custom, but found the taste for these writings established, and were compelled to conform to it. Other Church Fathers, Irenæus, Tertullian, Ambrose of Milan, and others, would never have treated the Wisdom of Solomon, the Books of Enoch, Baruch, Tobias, the false Esdras, the fragments to Daniel, &c., as holy and inspired writings, had they not come to them recommended as such from Jews.’ It would go ill with the fixing of our canon of the O. T. were this so. But, first, it is false that the Jews made no difference between the ancient sacred books of their nation and the so-called apocryphal writings. Josephus, who was at least acquainted with the Greek Jews, whose version he takes as his groundwork throughout his entire writings, says, without any exception, of all the Jews in general, ‘We have only twenty-two books whose composition extended down to Artaxerxes Longimanus. Since the time of Artaxerxes, indeed, down to our days, abundance has been written, but

of writings later on, a considerable time after the birth of Christ, chiefly with a view to the use made of them, dis-

these new books have not with us the reputation of the old.' And if these later works were esteemed by the Greek Jews as holy, venerable, and inspirations of the Holy Ghost, how comes it, then, that the Greek Jew, Philo, made no allegories of them as he did of those writings to which he attributed a higher origin? Secondly, it is false that the Apostles made no distinction between canonical and apocryphal writings. How happens it otherwise that, out of so many quotations of the O. T. into the New, so few can be shown to be taken from the Apocrypha? If of equal repute, alike would have been the use made of them. Third, it is false that the inference from the value attached by the Jewish Christians to the Apocrypha is that they were placed by the Jews on an equal footing with their sacred writings. It is well known that the former were held in such excellent estimation by the Jewish Christians in regard to the abundant food afforded from them to their enthusiastical ideas, hopes, and expectations. And if a comparison be made betwixt this estimation and that, according to Josephus, accorded to them by his nation, it will be clear that the Christians made many steps in advance of the Jews. And what is to be concluded from the opinions concerning them of the Church Fathers as to those of the Jews? Must the opinions of these last necessarily have been those of the former?

But 'in the Greek Bible-compilation many apocrypha were to be found, as the Wisdom of Solomon, the third book of Esdras, Tobias, Baruch, fragments to Daniel and Esther. This is also shown by the use made by Josephus himself (doubtless to please the Greek Jews) of some of these writings, and also the versions thereof made at an early period for the use of the Western Churches, and the canonical authority allowed to them by various councils.' (1) This objection presupposes, without proof, that already before the birth of Christ the Apocrypha had been added to the Greek Bible; but from whence is this inferred? From the use possibly made of them by Josephus. Does his use of them prove more than this single point, their existence at that time in the Greek version which we now have? May they not have been in his hands in Greek, but as a separate work? And since Philo and the N. T. make so little use of the Apocrypha, is it at all probable that they formed at that time a part of the Greek Bible? Would they not in this case have been much more familiar to Philo and the authors of the N. T. than we find they were? And would not their attention have been directed to these passages by Christians first, described as such great admirers of them? However, let it be so; the

tinctive names were assigned: the older were termed canonical, the modern apocryphal books, and the whole collection of the former was indicated under the name Canon of the Old Testament.

SECTION 16.—*What is meant by 'Canonical'?*

The word *Kanōn* was long in use with the old Church Fathers, and in very general senses, before it was applied to signify a collection of sacred writings. Often with them

elder Greek-Jews, before the birth of Christ, may perhaps have done it; but nothing will follow hostile to the hitherto maintained Hebrew Canon, since the Palestinian and not the Egyptian is our concern. (2) And what do early translations of the Apocrypha for the use of the Western Churches prove? Only this, which nobody doubts: that they were already in early times held by them in great veneration. What is to be inferred from the conduct of the Councils, which granted canonical authority to the Apocrypha? That they went further in their esteem for these writings than the early Christians, and extended to them a concession never to our knowledge made by the latter?

(3) 'The Egyptian Jews invented fables in order to procure respect to the false old muniments which they had forged to gratify their disposition to enthusiasm and party spirit. The Jew that wrote the fourth book of Esdras, in order by feigned visions to encourage the hopes of the Messiah's kingdom amongst his countrymen, produces a story of seventy hidden books, dictated to Esdras by the Holy Spirit. And this tradition of seventy apocrypha is also to be found in the Gospel of Nicodemus. That the fourth book of Esdras in its oldest form was written by no Christian is evident from many signs, although Christians may have interpolated and even increased it with many additions.' Taking also for granted this account of the origin of the fourth book of Esdras (liable, however, to so many objections), because an inquiry into the point is foreign to this place, what follows from all this? Only, indeed, that individual Jews have set all springs in motion to procure great respect to the productions of their pens. Is the approbation of all other Jews to this to be inferred? That out of complaisance to these fables even a divine origin was attributed by all to the works for whose sakes they were invented? But I stop, not to strive too long against objections which affect so little the principles disputed.

it meant nothing further than generally a ‘book,’ and an ‘inventory,’¹ then, secondly, in particular, an ‘inventory of things belonging to the Church,’ and also a ‘Book generally used in the Church.’² Hence a list of hymns sung on festival days,³ as also the register in which the names of all persons belonging to the Church were entered, was called *Kanōn*.⁴ Thirdly, in a still narrower sense the word was used to signify a ‘publicly authorised catalogue of all books permitted to be read, on the occasions of public assemblies of Christians, for instruction and edification.’⁵ Finally, and fourthly, but not till in very late times, a ‘collection of godly and inspired writings’ was understood precisely by the expression.

Almost all modern literati have adopted the last signification ; they employ hence ‘canonical’ and ‘inspired’ (*κανονικός* and *θεοπνευστός*) as perfect synonyms.⁶ But some understand by Canon of the Old Testament ‘the collection of holy and inspired writings which Christ and the Apostles have declared to be holy and inspired.’

¹ Hence the diminutive *κανονιον* means simply ‘libellus.’ See Suidas, *s. v. κανονιον*. M. Fred. Ferdin. Drük, *Diss. de Ratione Historiæ Canonis scribendæ* (Tüb. 1778, 4).

² *Synodus Laodic.* Canon 42.

³ Suicer, in *Thes. Eccles.* t. ii. p. 40, has verified this meaning by many examples taken out of the Church Fathers. In this way for instance Zonarus expresses himself, *Ad Canon. Athanasii Damasceni*: *Κανων λεγεται, δτι ὠρισμενον . . . ἔχει το ἐμμετρον ἐννεα φδαις συντελουμενον.*

⁴ Socrates, *Historia Eccles.* lib. i. c. 17, *τας παρθενους τας ἀναγεγραμμενας ἐν τῷ των ἑκκλησιων κανονι.* See Dufresne, *Glossarium Medicæ et Infimæ Græcitatis*, p. 579.

⁵ See Suicer, *Thes. Eccles.* s. v. *κανων*, *a Cotta ad Gerhardi locos theol.* t. ii. p. 244.

⁶ Suicer, *v. κανων*. Frick, *De Cura Vet. Eccl. circa Canonem*, p. 34 ff.

SECTION 17.—*What is meant by 'Apocryphal'?*

To the canonical books the apocryphal are opposed.

- (1) At first 'darkly-written books' were termed apocryphal,¹ therefore forbidden by the Church authorities to be read in public assemblies of the Christians; although not only not forbidden, but their careful study enjoined upon the learned as a positive duty. Hence (2) by apocryphal writings, in contradistinction to canonical, were understood 'books laid aside, and of which no parts were permitted to be read in public.'² (3) Even 'forged writings' (*pseudepigrapha*) were sometimes for like reasons called apocryphal, because of such wretched productions as the Books of Adam, Methuselah, Enoch, and such others, no public use was allowed.³ Finally (4), in like manner as canonical and inspired were used as synonyms, so an apocryphal book came to signify a 'book not inspired.'

¹ Suidas, *s. v.* φερεκυδῆς. Epiphanius, *Hæres.* li. Drük, *l.c.* p. 8. Compare with these the remark of Mr. D. Semler in the *Treatise on the Free Examination of the Canon*, Part i. § 10, that ἀποκρυφος was sometimes used to signify a work allowed for the instruction of more advanced Christians, but prohibited to others.

² Rufinus, *Expositio Symboli (inter opp. Cypriani)*, p. 26; Cyrillus, *Catech.* iv. p. 68, ed. Toult. In this case, however, ἀποκρυφος agrees with the Rabbinical נכון, which also signifies 'writings laid aside and forbidden to be read in the synagogue.' Wherefore the later Jews placed the commencement of Genesis (in which a creation in six days after a fashion so merely human was offensive to them), the Song of Songs (whose contents they considered dangerous to youth), and Ezekiel i. and xl. to xlviii. (because the contents of these chapters were obscure to them, and the temple of Ezekiel did not coincide with their second temple), amongst the נכזין forbidden to be read. Hottinger, *Thes. Phil.* p. 521, Castelli and Buxtorf's *Lexica* on these words. But on this account the belief is not required that the elder Jews by נכון understood a book not canonical.

³ Athanasius in the Synopsis attributed to him, *S. S. t. ii.* p. 154. Numerous passages in support of this sense have been collected by Fabricius, *Cod. Pseudep. V. T. t. ii.* p. 208.

Only the use of the word in this sense occurred very late, and perhaps not before the time of Jerome. He, however, writes in his prologue to Tobias : ‘ Librum Tobiæ quem Hebræi de catalogo divinarum Scripturarum secantes his quæ apocrypha memorant, manciparunt.’

SECTION 18.—*Judgment on this Distribution of the Books of the Old Testament into Canonical and Apocryphal.*

So various are the significations of the words canonical and apocryphal. It became therefore the duty of modern literati who have instituted examinations into the contents of the canon of the Old Testament, to fix what meaning they attached to ‘ canon.’ This, alas, has frequently not been done, and hence their examinations are deficient in the requisite precision.

It were even desirable that the term canon had never been applied to the Old Testament. A word of such various meanings must necessarily produce misunderstandings ; and unfortunately the greatest number of meanings it has received in the course of centuries are inapplicable to the Old Testament.

First, if by canon of the Old Testament is to be understood ‘ the collection of godly and inspired writings of the Jews, the production of times previous to the birth of Christ,’ this would be a sense not in the minds of the greatest number of Christian writers, and difficulties upon difficulties encountered the inquirer who questioned the Church Fathers upon the canon of the Old Testament. Judith, Tobias, two books of the Maccabees, five books of Solomon, and so on, for instance, were found reckoned amongst the ‘ canonicæ scripturæ.’¹ Frightened at this

¹ *Concil. Carthag.* 3, can. 47 of the I. ‘ Placuit,’ it says, ‘ ut præter canonicas scripturas nihil in ecclesia legatur sub nomine scripturarum

appearance, either the whole inquiry was given up, or, if resolution enough were gathered to proceed, the inference drawn was, that our present canon of the Old Testament is of recent origin, and the arrangement in all its parts, both great and small, not fixed in the ancient times.¹

Or (2) if by canon of the Old Testament is to be understood the ‘books of the Jews, permitted before the time of Christ to be read publicly,’ this notion with regard to the Old Testament would neither be pertinent nor sufficient. With whom was the permission of reading publicly these books? With Jews, or Christians? With Jews: then in that case nothing would be more uncertain than the number of books to be esteemed canonical! For canonical books and books for public reading were not considered convertible. The Song of Songs, for instance, was with them a sacred national work, and yet its public reading in the synagogue was forbidden!² Moreover, the selection of books for this religious purpose depended on their political situation. For a time the books of Moses alone were read in public, but when the use of the Mosaical books was prohibited by Antiochus Epiphanes, the Prophets alone, afterwards, when the force of this intolerant prohibition had passed away, Moses and the Prophets together. To this end also the five books of Moses, the Prophets and the book of Esther, which on the feast Purim was accustomed to be read with great solemnity, behoved to be placed in the canon; but not

divinarum; sunt autem *canonicae* scripturæ: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri, Deuteronomium, Jesus Nave, Judicum, Ruth, Regnorum libri 4, Paralipomenon libri 2, Job, Psalmorum unus, Salomonis libri quinque, libri 12 prophetarum minorum item, Jesaias, Jerem., Ezech., Daniel, *Tobias*, *Judith*, Esdræ libri 2, Maccabæorum libri 2.'

¹ Semler's *Treatise on a Free Examination into the Canon*, Part i. § 146.

² Origen in his preface to the Song of Songs.

the Psalms, not the Proverbs, neither Job, nor the historical books.

As understood by the Christians the canon of the Old Testament would be still more uncertain. It would be fixed at a time when it was no longer possible to know what books were canonical ; for not till after the lapse of the first centuries after the birth of Christ would its disposition be made : by a party from whom no satisfactory settlement of the canon of the Old Testament was to be expected, for such settlement required to be the work, not of Christians, but of Jews ; without *fixed principles* by which to test the estimation of a book ; for the New Testament decides nothing as to the canon. The choice, therefore, rested upon mere will, and was guided perhaps by views of piety, which are frequently very equivocal, or by insufficient authorities. Finally, if we compare the still extant lists of the books of the Old Testament permitted to be read publicly among Christians, we shall find also in the list Judith and Tobias, to which for numerous reasons no canonical authority can be extended ; so tottering is the foundation upon which the important inquiry into the canon of the Old Testament is made to rest !

SECTION 19.—*In what Sense in this Inquiry the Canon of the Old Testament is to be taken.*

We proceed, therefore, in our examination of the subject, merely from the time when Jesus and his Apostles in their instruction to the human race referred to information recorded in the Old Testament. There existed at that time in Palestine a collection which formed a complete whole, and was indicated by the New Testament, sometimes by the title Scripture or Holy Scriptures, sometimes described by ‘ Law and Prophets,’ or ‘ Law, Prophets,

and Psalms.' This collection is to be our canon of the Old Testament. We thus get rid of all theological and dogmatical points and our inquiry becomes, as it ought to be, purely historical.

SECTION 20.—*Of the Egyptian and Palestinian Canon in General.*

After the Babylonian exile the Jews became divided, according to the place of their residence, into Egyptian and Palestinian; in both they were in possession of a collection of sacred national writings. And the inquiry is worth the pains, whether in both countries this was of equal or dissimilar extent, and what books as well as how many both in Egypt and in Palestine were comprehended in it?

For our purpose, however, it is necessary to look chiefly to Palestine, and endeavour to ascertain the component parts of the Palestinian canon at the epoch of Christ and the Apostles. It may appear, therefore, that an inquiry into the Egyptian canon may be dispensed with, especially considering that though a full notice of it could be given, the question of the Palestinian would still remain to be decided. In the meantime, however, the history of the canon would be defective without it; without it many an illustration in the inquiry into the Palestinian would have to be foregone. Finally, were a complete account of the Egyptian anywhere to be found, and an agreement in all its parts with the Palestinian found existing, in that case the important question whether the Jews at the time of Christ were in possession of a collection fixed as to all its parts, greater or less, or a complete canon, would be solved to the satisfaction of every inquirer after truth.

Should, however, either now or at some future time, a sufficient number of fragments of the Egyptian canon be discovered, to enable the formation of an entire whole, regret will still remain that even here the mischievous influence of rapacious time is manifest; but the contents of the canon will not on that account be the less certain. Were even traces evident that apocryphal books openly existed in the canon of the Egyptian Jews, these would just as little attain the dignity of canonical books as the Apocrypha inserted amongst the *scripturæ canonice* by the countenance of the Church Fathers (sec. 18). The question here is to be decided not by Church Fathers but by Jews, and those Jews the Jews of Palestine (sec. 19). In like manner as the Samaritans came to possess a false Joshua, which they placed by the side of the five books of Moses, so similar accidents in Egypt may have raised one or more apocryphal books into the rank of the canon.

I. THE CANON OF THE EGYPTIAN AND PALESTINIAN JEWS WAS ONE AND THE SAME.

SECTION 21.—*First Ground for the Presumption.*

Still for manifold reasons is it extremely probable that the canon of the Old Testament in Egypt and Palestine was alike. First, the relations existing between the Jews in both countries make this at once probable. Both were, if not indeed at all times, in some, if not close, connection and occasionally even in religious community;¹ there was

¹ Notwithstanding the jealousy which prevailed between the Jews in both lands, religious communion went further than was to be expected. To that purpose the celebrated author Philo himself was once despatched to Jerusalem to offer up a sacrifice in the temple there in the name of his brothers in the faith. Philo, Opp. t. ii. p. 646, ed. Mang., or in Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* lib. viii. c. xiv. p. 398, ed. Paris. Της Συρίας ἐπι θαλαττῇ πολις ἔστιν, Ἀσκαλων δύομά γενομένος ἐν ταυτῃ καθ'

a rivalry between both for an equality in all things. The Egyptians built a temple after the model of the temple at Jerusalem and practised here as there their religion with the same solemnities ; the Egyptians read publicly in their synagogues the five books of Moses, as in Palestine ; but as an intolerant edict of Antiochus Epiphanes suppressed the use of the Mosaical books in the synagogues, and public readings out of the Prophets began then as a matter of necessity, and afterwards, when the prohibition ceased, Moses and the Prophets were read together each Sabbath, the jealousy of the Egyptian Jews permitted them not to be behind in this respect. Finally, Jerusalem was the place to which the Jews referred everything ; the customs and usages there at home they copied. Jerusalem was the rallying point of all Jews who lived scattered through Europe, Asia, and Africa, therefore that of the Egyptian.¹ Under such circumstances, is it not to be presumed² that the Jews in both countries agreed with

δν χρονον εις το πατρων ιερον ἐστελλομην εὐξομενος τε και θυρων, ἀμηχανον τι πελειαδων πληθος . . . ἐθεασαμην. Still this was something extraordinary, as the Egyptian Jews had their own temple in which, from the time of its building, sacrifices were offered up. And I am unable to persuade myself that the Egyptian Jews sent regular sacrifices to Jerusalem, as Hornemann, *De Canone Philonis*, § 10, admits. Jews in Rome and Italy did so in general because they possessed no temple in that country, but with the Jews in Egypt the reason fails.

¹ The thing is sufficiently well known. Though a matter of superfluity, I still refer to Hornemann, *De Canone Phil.* p. 8, who has proved this by some passages from Philo, Opp. t. ii. p. 524 ed. Mang., p. 971 ed. Francf., and so on.

² In the former edition the passage stood as follows : ‘By the foregoing reasoning nothing is to be considered as demonstrated, nothing as judicially decided, the presumptive inference alone is drawn that the Egyptian and Palestinian canon was probably of the same extent.’ When, however, the *Zurich Library*, Part i. § 178, objects, ‘In spite of the intercourse between the Palestinian and Egyptian Jews, the Alexandrian synagogue may still have boasted of a more extensive collection of sacred writings, in which were to be found works of Enoch,

regard to the collection of their sacred national Scripture?

SECTION 22.—Second Ground for the Presumption.

Jesus Sirach the younger, and Philo, the New Testament and Josephus, as authors of Palestine and Egypt, describe their ancient holy books, if not exactly with the same words, yet still as to the main point and the chief contents alike, by the expression, ‘Law, Prophets, and other writings.’

1. Jesus Sirach, the grandson, who, about the year 140 before Christ, after his arrival in Egypt translated the proverbs of his grandfather out of the Hebrew into the Greek, speaks in the first prologue, which from reasons to be found within it, appears to be his own composition, of the holy books of his nation which had been already before his time translated into Greek and describes them by ‘Law, Prophets, and other books.’ ‘I beg you,’ says he to his readers,¹ ‘to read this translation with indulgence and attention and to pardon me, if, like those who have ventured on like versions before me, I should have failed to employ expressions sufficiently pertinent. For

Moses, &c.,’ what is to be replied? A ‘may’ is placed in opposition, which no one would think of denying. The Egyptian synagogue *may* have boasted of a more extensive collection of sacred writings (although no traces of such are to be found); the forged books of Enoch and Moses are named as if they had been received into the Egyptian synagogues, although the remotest presumption for such a fact does not exist. What answer can be given in such cases?

¹ *Prologus prior Jesu Sirach . . . δ νομος, και αι προφητειαι και τα λοιπα των βιβλιων ου μικραν ἔχει την διαφοραν ἐν έαυτοις λεγομενα.* That this prologue must be very old is evident, amongst other reasons, from this, that the Hagiographa, בְּתֻ�ְבִּים, is found rendered by τα λοιπα των βιβλιων. Before the birth of Christ a general name was wanting to designate all the books together which are now called Hagiographa: A periphrasis therefore was always necessary. See above (§ 8).

the Hebrew phrase loses extremely when exchanged against words of another language. This remark will not be confined to this work, for also in the Law, Prophets, and other books a great difference exists between the original and the translation.¹ The collection of the Hebrew national books as it existed at that time in a Greek translation made in Egypt, forms the basis of this declaration ; nothing is then more probable than that in this passage a description of the canon of the Egyptian Jews is to be sought for.

In another passage of this prologue the translator boasts of his grandfather's study of 'the Law, the Prophets, and the rest of the books of his nation.'² Now, his grandfather lived in Palestine and studied the Palestinian canon. And, since he here describes the Palestinian canon as well as the Egyptian in the same words, must not the Jews in both lands have had the same canon ? If the one in Palestine were different from that in Egypt, Jesus Sirach would have been compelled, by means of a few additional words, or by the change of an expression, to mark the distinction, in order to render himself more intelligible to his nearest reader, the Egyptian.

¹ Jesus Sirach distinguishes then the proverbs of his grandfather, this now so-called Apocryphon, precisely from the Law, Prophets, and other books ; is it possible, then, that he should have classed the Hebrew original of the proverbs with the 'other books' (as he renders the Hagiographa), or even have conjectured that his version would be one day included amongst them ? Is this ancient passage not contradiction enough to the 'may' of the *Zurich Library* (Part i. § 177) ? 'What does the denomination Moses, Prophets, and Writings prove, when by this expression (namely, writings) all pseudepigrapha and apocryphal books of later times *may* be comprehended ?' What a nonentity is a mere *possibility* when probable grounds for the contrary are in existence !

² *Prolog. prior*, δι παππος μου Ἰησους ἐπι πλειον ἑαυτον δους εις τε την του νομου και των προφητων και των ἀλλων πατριων βιβλιων ἀναγνωσιν.

2. According to Philo, a native of Alexandria, the Therapeutæ, a fanatical sect of Jews in Egypt, read in their pious assemblies, not the fanatical writings of the founder of their sect, but ‘holy writings,’ as ‘Law, Oracles of the Prophets, Songs of Praise to God, and other books by which the knowledge and fear of God become exalted and perfected.’¹ Here, however, Philo speaks, *not* of the holy books of the Egyptian Jews in *general*, but of those held sacred by the fanatical Therapeutæ, and taken by them to their religious meetings. That, however, the Therapeutæ did not differ in regard to their holy books from the rest of the Egyptian Jews, we are taught by the exact agreement, in their description of the canon, of Jesus Sirach and the Palestinian writers.

3. In the same manner as Jesus Sirach divides the Egyptian canon into three parts and describes it thereafter, so does the New Testament distribute the Palestinian into ‘Law, Prophets, and Psalms’ (Luke xxiv. 44).

4. And with the Therapeutæ in Egypt does Josephus also agree in the closest manner, in his description of the Palestinian canon. After it he gives the division, ‘Books of Moses,² Prophets, Hymns of Praise to God, and books of a moral kind.’

¹ Philo, *De Vita Contempl.* Opp. t. ii. p. 475 ed. Mang. p. 893 ed. Frankft. Ἐν ἑκαστῃ δε οἰκᾳ (according to the Frankfort edit. ἑκαστῳ δε ἐστιν οἰκημα) ἱερον, δ καλειται σεμνειον και μοναστηριον, ἐν φ μονουμενοι τα του σεμνου βιου μυστηρια τελουνται, μηδεν εἰσκομιζοντες, μη ποτον, μη σιτον, μηδε τι των ἀλλων δσα προς τας του σωματος χρειας ἀναγκαια, ἀλλα νομους και λογια θεσπισθεντα δια προφητων και νμους και τα ἀλλα, οις ἐπιστημη και εὐσεβεια συνναυξονται και τελειουνται . . . Ἐντυγχανοντες γαρ τοις ἱεροις γραμμασι, φιλοσοφουσι την πατριον φιλοσοφιαν, ἀλληγορουντες, ἐπειδη συμβολα τα της ῥητης ἔρμηνειας νομιζουσι φυσεως ἀποκεκρυμμενης, ἐν ὑπονοιαις δηλουμενης. Ἐστι δε αύτοις και συγγραμματα παλαιων ἀνδρων, οι της αἵρησεως ἀρχηγεται γενομενοι πολλα μνημεια της ἀλληγορουμενοις ἴδεας ἀπελιπον.

² Josephus, *Contra Ap.* lib. i. § 8.

If the uniformity of the canon in both lands cannot be formally demonstrated on these grounds, the presumption that it was so proceeds to the highest degree of probability. In order to attain to a higher measure of certainty in this matter, we will endeavour to delineate the canon of the Egyptian and Palestinian Jews out of their own authors respectively.

II. CANON OF THE JEWS IN EGYPT.

SECTION 23.—*Sources.*

We collect in the first place the evidence respecting the canon of the Egyptians from Egyptian Jews. Precision, and the prudence not to become entangled in a labyrinth without outlet, require us absolutely to set aside the opinion of the Egyptian Christians respecting the canon of the Old Testament. These are too recent to be capable of offering formal evidence; they judge, without sound principle, merely from self-chosen points of view, concerning the value of single books of the Old Testament and the use to be made of them; and such judgment can amount to no decisive value (sec. 18). They gave their admiration also, as is known from Origen, Jerome, Rufinus, and Augustin, to apocryphal books, which with the Egyptian Jews, as we shall see further on, stood in no estimation whatsoever.

Hence we cannot use the Church Fathers just named as sources of information concerning the Egyptian canon; but only the Alexandrian version of the Old Testament and Philo.

SECTION 24.—1. *Alexandrian Version.*

I mention the Alexandrian version here because in modern times it has been used as a source ; but for me it is closed up.¹

1. It is affirmed that the Alexandrian version in the oldest times contained only as many books as we now usually reckon to the canon of the Old Testament. This, however, hitherto has not been proved, but merely decided by authority. And how else is it to be shown ? ‘From information concerning the origin of the Alexandrian translation’ ? Because Eleazer sent a Hebrew codex for the preparation of this version to Egypt, is it necessarily to be assumed that it was copied from an authentic exemplar in Jerusalem and contained all our present canonical books ? But is it even certain that Eleazer did positively send for the help of the Alexandrian translator a Hebrew manuscript to Egypt, as the romance-writer Aristeas pretends ?² But allowing his tale of a commissioned codex from Jerusalem to Egypt to be true, is not the position taken for granted, which requires first to be proved, that the Palestinian canon contained at that time just as many books as we now reckon to it ? What a circle in reasoning ! Nay, if any inference at all is to be drawn from the history of Aristeas and his epitomiser, Josephus, it must be that only the five books of Moses composed the canon of the Alexandrians. For according to Aristeas and Josephus only a manuscript of the *vopos*, the Pentateuch, was sent by Eleazer to Egypt.

¹ Chr. Fred. Schmidii, *Historia Antiqua et Vindic. Canonis V. et N. T.* p. 125.

² Hodius, *De Bibliorum Text. Orig. et Repertorium*, Part i. § 266 ff.

Philo also allows at first the translation of only the five books of Moses.

2. The Alexandrian translation arose gradually at various times, upon various occasions, and by the labours of different literati. Had it been shown by other evidence that all the books contained in our edition of the Bible had always from the oldest times had canonical estimation, and that the translation of all of them at the same time had been accomplished either by one or by an association of learned Jews in Egypt, the conclusion would be then in some measure probable that they were laid altogether before the Egyptian Jews in a translation because the value and estimation conceded to them were equal. But this did not happen, and Isaiah, for instance, who must always necessarily have formed a part of our canon, received a Greek investiture much later than Moses.

3. And if they were all translated at once, a conclusion founded on their canonical rank in all respects would rest upon but tottering ground. For the first occasion for this work is unknown. Had the desire of the Jews to read in Greek their books of religion in their synagogues given cause for this translation it might then be presumed, and not without colour of reason, that the canonical books would be selected for this purpose, and no translation, at least at that time, bestowed on the uncanonical. But all antiquity affirms the undertaking to have been merely a literary one. Ptolemy Philadelphus wished the ‘Books of the Mosaical Law or the Jewish Scriptures in general,’ translated, however, into Greek, because the original was unintelligible to the Egyptian Greeks, to be placed in his library; and for this purpose many apocryphal books must have been just as important as any book of inspiration, which in the library of a

heathen could obtain no preference over a mere human work.

4. Finally, some of our apocryphal books were really at a very early period laid in a translation before the Egyptian Jews : for instance, the sentences of Jesus Sirach the elder, the letter of Mardochæus, concerning the Feast the Purim, &c.¹ Let it not be objected that this translation would never have attained to such universal estimation unless it had contained all canonical books, to the exclusion of all apocryphal ones ; for it is known that the Alexandrian version was half invested with divinity through beguilement of the fable that the spirit of inspiration rested on the translators !

SECTION 25.—2. *Philo (flor. A. C. 41).*

Philo of Alexandria remains the only source from whence we can draw materials for our inquiry into the contents of the Alexandrian Canon. He lived exactly at the time when our examination begins—namely, at the time of Christ and the Apostles (sec. 19). He gives us, however, nowhere in his writings an exact account of the canon of the Old Testament ; but here and there he lets fall, in passing, as it were, lost unconnected propositions which betray to us his opinion, and probably also that of his brothers in the faith, respecting the value and estimation of single books of the Old Testament. But these exist only in scattered fragments, out of which it is impossible again to construct a whole ; wherefore in the absence of other and more perfect information, these fragments must be regarded as of the highest value.

¹ See *Prologus prior* of Jesus Sirach, and then the Greek version of the book of Esther, at the end.

SECTION 26.—*Philo on the Apocrypha.*

Philo was acquainted with the apocryphal writings of the Old Testament, for he borrows expressions from them; but he does not quote even once a single apocryphal book, much less does he allegorise their contents or prove his propositions out of them.¹ That he takes no notice of them, then, does not arise from a want of acquaintance with them, which besides was not to be expected from a man of his extensive reading, but probably because he held them of little value, and—were the conclusion too rash, should I add?—because he did not class them amongst the books esteemed in his age holy and divine. For his disesteem of them goes very far indeed. He does not even allow them the respect which he extends to a Plato, Philolaus, a Solon, Hippocrates, Heraclitus, and others, from whose writings he often cites whole passages.¹ If an examination be

¹ So decisively does Hornemann speak (*Observationes ad Illustrationem Doctrinæ de Canone N. T. ex Philone*, p. 28, 29), and as he gives the assurance of having read Philo's writings entirely for the purpose of ascertaining his opinion about the canon, he may require our acceptance without hesitation of his decisive sentence. I shall follow him, therefore, chiefly in this section, with the exception of some of his views where I differ from him; elsewhere his remarks will admit of additional observations.

² The *Zurich Library* (Part i. § 178) objects: ‘Philo does not quote the Apocrypha. But just as little as his silence about a canonical book proves that it was not in the canon of the Egyptian Jews, just so little does his silence about the Apocrypha prove this.’ Quite right; an argument drawn from silence will be termed by no one strong; but, nevertheless, it merits not to be passed by with indifference. It remains always certainly a striking circumstance that Philo quotes not a single book of our Apocrypha, although they were so connected with his purpose, and the contents of at least some of them so valuable for his object. If neither of them were suited to his passion for allegory, what argument could be made to rest upon their non-employment? But now his silence respecting them must draw

made of the indexes of the editions of Philo, particularly of that of Mangey, so many passages from the apocryphal books of the Old Testament will be found introduced as to give the appearance of Philo having made considerable use of them. But a startling deception results here as well as elsewhere from the quotation of these passages in the indexes. Some refer merely to remarks of the editor, in

at least attention towards them. ‘In the first place the circumstance that Philo never quotes these books does not yet prove his contempt for them. The fame, perhaps, of some of them the most naturally connected with the subjects of his meditation, as the Wisdom of Solomon (which some persons even attribute to him), was not yet spread abroad.’ And yet does the writer declare in the very next page that it had already occurred to Josephus to find the Wisdom of Solomon, the third book of Esdras, Tobias, Baruch, and additional fragments to Daniel and Esther connected with the Greek Bible. And the Greek Jew Philo is not to be acquainted with these books; the learned Philo is to be so uninstructed in the writings of his nation! ‘Others,’ proceeds the writer, ‘he had never occasion to cite,’ which of many apocryphal, as well as of some canonical, books is certainly very probable. ‘Further, he might have contemned the Apocrypha without thereby furnishing a clue to the judgment of the Greek synagogue respecting them. He held even the historical contents of the holy writings at not too high a rate, and his mode of thinking, formed after the philosophy of Plato, differed as much, perhaps, from that of other Jews, as the notions of Maimonides, Orobious, and Moses Mendelssohn, from the ideas and opinions of their Jewish contemporaries.’ But would he dare in this case to publish them in writing? Would he have dared to abandon the belief of the whole of his nation without drawing down upon himself the consequences, hard to bear, of a grievous heresy? Have the Jews named, or those not named, of distinguished enlightenment, ever published in writing their abandonment of the national faith, or at least without great opposition? Moreover, the *probability* only that his opinion of the canon was the national opinion is adopted; his scattered expressions are collected with the view of ascertaining the opinion held by the most learned and famous man amongst the Alexandrian Jews concerning the Hebrew writings. And since no traces are to be found that he abandoned, in writing, the belief and the opinions of his nation, the conjecture is ventured on that the opinion of his *Egyptian contemporaries* as to the canon coincided with his.

which sometimes a word, sometimes a reading, is cleared up by some passage of an apocryphal book,¹ sometimes a reference is made because Philo had expressed some similar sentiment² or something exactly the contrary.³

SECTION 27.—*Philo on the Canonical Books of the Old Testament.*

Hornemann arranges the books of the Old Testament after the verdict of Philo into three classes:—

1. Books quoted with the express declaration that they are of Divine origin.
2. Books which are simply cited.
3. Books of which no mention is made by him.

We will even here, however, collect Philo's sentiments on the separate Scriptures of the Old Testament in the given order, carefully keeping apart those books respecting which Philo expresses no decisive opinion, which Hornemann has not always done.

SECTION 28.—*First Class. Scriptures to which Philo attributes a Divine Origin.*

All the books which, according to Philo, are of Divine original are termed in his language 'Works of the Prophets.' Still he does not always apply to their authors the name *προφῆτης*, but alternates it with *προφῆτης ἀνήρ, ἵεροφαντης, θεσπεσιος ἀνήρ, Μωϋσεως θιασωτης, τις των φοιτητων Μωϋσεως, Μωϋσεως ἑταιρος, του προφητικου θιασωτης χρονου*, all which are current with

¹ Hornemann, *De Canone Philonis*, § 31, note *n*, has made an exception of the passages of this kind from the indexes, which, however, to save space, I shall not copy.

² See the collection of these passages at the place referred to, § 29, note *m*.

³ See the same, § 31, note *mm*.

him as perfect synonyms of *προφητης*. The books themselves he sometimes terms *ἱερας γραφας*, sometimes *ἱερας βιβλους*, sometimes *ἱερον λογον*, sometimes *ἱερωτατον γραμμα*, sometimes *ἱεροφαντηθεντα*, sometimes *προφητικον λογον*, or *προφητικα ρηματα*, sometimes *λογιον* only, or also *λογιον του Θεου*, sometimes *χρησμον* or *το χρησθεν*. All these are convertibles with him, as is evident partly from the expressions themselves and partly from the passages in which they appear.

In order to comprehend these expressions in the spirit of Philo, and to form an adequate conception of the judgment conveyed in them as to the sacred books of his nation, it is necessary to premise his exalted idea of a prophet. Prophets, with him, mean interpreters of God (*ἐρμηνεις του Θεου*), instruments of God employed by Him to make that known which it is His will should be known. They proffer nothing of their own, but matter altogether foreign to themselves, and communicated to them internally by the operation of God. So long as the state of a prophet be rapture, he knows nothing of himself; the Divine Spirit having once effected his subjection operates on his intellect as well as on his organs of speech; on the former for the revelation of things unknown, upon the latter to enable them to utter the words communicated to them.¹

¹ Philo, *De Monarchia*, lib. i. Opp. t. i. p. 222 M., p. 820 Fr. After he has spoken of Moses, he proceeds: *ἔρμηνεις γαρ εἰσιν οἱ προφῆται Θεον, καταχρωμενοι τοις ἐκεινων ὄργανοις προς δηλωσιν ὡν ἀν ἔθελησηρ. . . . De Legibus special.* Opp. t. ii. p. 343: *προφητης δε μεν γαρ οὐδεν ιδιον ἀποφαινεται [ἀποφθεγγεται] το παραπαν, ἀλλ' εστιν ἔρμηνευς, ὑποβαλλοντος ἐτερου πανθ' δσα προφερει, και καθ' δν χρονον ἐνθουσιᾳ γεγονως ἐν ἀγνοιᾳ, μετανισταμενοι μεν του λογισμου και παρακεχωρηκοτος την της ψυχης ἀκροπολιν. ἐπιπεφοιτηκοτος δε και ἐνοικηκοτος του θειου πνευματος, και πασαν της φωνης ὄργανοποιηαν κρουοντος δε και ἐνηχουντος εις ἐναργη δηλωσιν ὡν προθεσπιζει. Quis Rerum divin. Heres sit*, Opp. t. i. p. 510 M., p. 517 Fr.: *προφητης γαρ ιδιον μεν οὐδεν ἀποφθεγγεται, ἀλλοτρια δε*

Finally, in his opinion, Moses was the greatest prophet, and if it be the purpose of Philo to use extremely strong language as to the inspiration of any writer, he makes the prophetical spirit of Moses the measure by which he metes out the spirit of prophecy to others. Hence the expressions *Μωϋσεως ἔταιρος*, *Μωϋσεως θιασωτης, τις των φοιτητων Μωϋσεως*.

SECTION 29.—*Five Books of Moses, Joshua, First Book of Samuel, Ezra.*

Of Moses and the first five books left behind by him, Philo employs the strongest expressions. Moses he terms sometimes a *προφητης*, sometimes an *ἱεροφαντης*,¹ and so on; his inspiration is the scale by which he estimates that of other writers (s. 28). His writings he calls *προφητικον λογον*, or *ἱερας βιβλους*.² He writes glosses upon some passages of all five books, and all references to them are expressed in the same exalted style. Genesis he calls *ἱερας γραφας*,³ the second book of Moses

παντα, ὑπηχουντος ἐτερου. De Præmiis et Pœnis, Opp. t. ii. p. 417 M., p. 918 F.: *ἐρμηνευς γαρ ἐστιν δ προφητης, ἐνδοθεν ὑπηχουντος τα λεκτεα του Θεου.*

¹ Philo, *Alleg.* lib. ii. Opp. t. ii. p. 66 ed. Mang., p. 1087 ed. Frankf.: *δ προφητης. All. lib. iii. Opp. t. i. p. 117 ed. Mang., p. 89 Frkf. : δ ἱεροφαντης. Ibid. Opp. t. i. p. 121 M., p. 92 Fr. : δ ἱεροφαντης και προφητης. De Gigant. Opp. t. i. p. 270 M., p. 231 Fr. : δ ἱεροφαντης ὀργιων και διδασκαλος θειων, &c. Hornemann, § 34, 35, has gathered still further passages in which the expressions quoted reciprocate with others of like meaning, and which I for the sake of brevity pass by.*

² *Alleg.* lib. iii. p. 92 M., p. 68 Fr.: *De Plant. Noe*, Opp. t. i. p. 347 M., p. 230 Fr.: *De Congressu quær. Erudit. gratia*, Opp. t. i. p. 543 M., p. 448 Fr.: *δ προφητικος λογος. De Vita Mosis*, lib. iii. Opp. t. ii. p. 163 M., p. 681 Fr.: *ἱεραι βιβλοι*. Here are also many passages in support by Hornemann, § 36, in which these expressions alternate with others of similar meaning.

³ *De Mundi Opif.* Opp. t. i. p. 18 M., p. 16 Fr. See like expressions,

ιεραν βιβλον,¹ the third *ιερον λογον*,² the fourth *ιερωτατον γραμμα*,³ the fifth book finally *χρησμον*⁴ and *ιερον λογον*.⁵

The book of Joshua is termed on the occasion of being quoted—chap. i. 5—*λογιον του ιλεω Θεου*.⁶

From the first Book of Samuel, which with Philo, as with all the writers who use the LXX interpreters, passes for the first Book of Kings, chap. i. 11 is quoted with the formula: *ως οιερος λογος φησιν*.⁷

From the Book of Esau, chap. viii. 2 is cited, and the contents of the passage described as *τα εν βασιλικαις βιβλοις ιεροφαντηθεντα*.⁸

SECTION 30.—*Isaiah, Jeremiah, Hosea, Zechariah, Psalms, Proverbs.*

The prophet Isaiah is called by Philo *τον παλαι προφητην*,⁹ and his prophecies *προφητικα ρηματα*.¹⁰

Jeremiah is with him *προφητης, μυστης, ιεροφαντης*, and the passage (chap. iii. 4) which he cites he terms *χρησμον*.¹¹ In another place Jeremiah is described as a member of the prophetical choir, that spoke in transport:

De Abrah. p. i. t. ii. M., p. 349 Fr. *Resipuit Noe*, t. i. p. 400 M., p. 281 Fr., and so on.

¹ *De Migrat. Abrah.* Opp. t. i. p. 438 M., p. 390 Fr., and so on.

² *Lib. iii. Alleg.* t. i. Opp. p. 85 M., p. 1007 Fr. *De Somniis*, Opp. t. i. p. 633 M., p. 577 Fr.

³ *De eo, quod Deus sit immutabilis*, Opp. t. i. p. 273 M., p. 249 Fr. *De Migrat. Abrah.* Opp. t. i. p. 457 M., p. 409 Fr.

⁴ *De Migrat. Abrah.* Opp. t. i. p. 454 M., p. 405 Fr.

⁵ *De Somniis*, Opp. t. i. p. 657 M., p. 601 Fr.

⁶ *De Confus. Ling.* Opp. t. i. p. 430 M., p. 344 Fr.

⁷ *De Temulent.* Opp. t. i. p. 379 M., p. 261 Fr.

⁸ *De Confus. Linguarum*, Opp. t. i. p. 427 M., p. 341 Fr.

⁹ *De Somniis*, Opp. t. i. p. 681 M., p. 1132 Fr.

¹⁰ *De Mutat. Nom.* Opp. t. i. p. 604 M., p. 1071 Fr.

¹¹ *De Cherubim*, Opp. t. i. p. 147, 148 M., p. 116 Fr.

*του προφητικου θιασωτης χορου ὁς καταπνευσθεις ἐνθουσιων ἀνεφθεγξατο.*¹ And in another place he says that ‘God, the Father of all things, has spoken through the mouth of Jeremiah’—*ὅ πατηρ των ὄλων ἐθεσπισε δια προφετικου στοματος Ἱερεμιου.*²

Of the Lesser Prophets, in Philo’s writings, only two are quoted—Hosea and Zechariah.

Hosea xiv. 8 Philo terms *χρησθεν παρα τινι των προφητων*,³ and Hosea xiv. 24 *στοματι προφητικῳ θεσπισθεντα διαπυρον χρησμον.*⁴

Zacharias, in the quotation chap. v. 12, is entitled *Μωϋσεως ἑταιρος*.⁵

The Psalms are abundantly quoted by Philo, but in most cases with an intimation of their high origin. David is distinguished by the same descriptions as Moses; sometimes he is called *προφητης*,⁶ sometimes *προφητης ἀνηρ*,⁷ sometimes *θεσπεσιος ἀνηρ*,⁸ sometimes ‘colleague’ of Moses, not his inferior, *Μωϋσεως θιασωτης ὁς ουχι των ἡμελημενων ἦν*,⁹ sometimes *ἑταιρος Μωϋσεως.*¹⁰

Expressions of a like high nature he employs of Solomon as the author of the Proverbs. He styles him a member *ἐκ του θειου χορου*,¹¹ and in another place *τινα των φοιτητων Μωϋσεως.*¹²

¹ *De Confus. Ling.* Opp. t. i. p. 411 M., p. 326 Fr.

² *De Profugis*, Opp. t. i. p. 575 M., p. 479 Fr.

³ *De Plantat. Noe*, Opp. t. i. p. 350 M., p. 233 Fr.

⁴ *De Mutat. Nom.* Opp. t. i. p. 599 M., p. 1066 Fr.

⁵ *De Confus. Ling.* Opp. t. i. p. 414 M., p. 329 Fr.

⁶ *De Agricult.* Opp. t. i. p. 308 M., p. 195 Fr.

⁷ *Quis Rerum divin. Heres sit*, Opp. t. i. p. 515 M., p. 522 Fr.

⁸ *De Plant. Noe*, Opp. t. i. p. 344 M., p. 218 Fr. Compare *De Mundo*, Opp. t. ii. p. 608 M., p. 1157 Fr.

⁹ *De Plant. Noe*, ed. Francf. p. 219.

¹⁰ *Quod a Deo mittantur Somnia*, Opp. t. i. p. 691 M., p. 1141 Fr.

¹¹ *De Ebrietate*, Opp. t. i. p. 362 M., p. 244 Fr.

¹² *De Congressu quær. Erud. gratia*, Opp. t. i. p. 544 M., p. 449 Fr.

SECTION 31.—*Second Class of Writings mentioned by Philo, without the intimation of a Divine Origin.*

From the Book of Judges, styled by Philo ἡ τῶν χρηματῶν ἀναγραφομεμη βιβλος, chap. viii. 9, according to the LXX, is quoted.¹

Job xiv. 4 is introduced by him into his text without further observation.²

The First Book of Kings (according to Philo and the LXX, the third) is allegorised in several places.³

Also many separate Psalms, without the intimation of a higher origin, are simply quoted by him.⁴

¹ *De Confus. Ling.* Opp. t. i. p. 424 M., p. 339 Fr.

² *De Mutat. Nom.* Opp. t. i. p. 584 M., p. 1051 Fr.

³ *De Gigant.* Opp. t. i. p. 274 M., p. 295 Fr. Compare 1 Samuel ii. 5. *De Ebriet.* Opp. t. i. p. 380 M., p. 261, 262 Fr. Compare 1 Samuel i. 14, 15. *De Migrat. Abrah.* Opp. t. i. p. 467 M., p. 418 Fr. Compare 1 Samuel x. 22. *De Mutat. Nom.* Opp. t. i. p. 600 M., p. 1007 Fr. Compare 1 Samuel ii. 5. *Quod Deus sit immut.* Opp. t. i. p. 293 M., p. 313 Fr. Compare 1 Kings xvii. 10, 18, ix. 9. *De Migrat. Abrah.* t. i. p. 441 M., p. 394 Fr. *Quis Rerum divin. Heres sit,* Opp. t. i. p. 483 M., p. 491 Fr. Compare 1 Kings ix. 9.

⁴ *Quod Deus sit immut.* Opp. t. i. p. 284 M., p. 304 Fr. Compare Psalms ci. 1, lxxv. 8, and in the same compare the following pages with Psalm lxiii. 11. *De Migrat. Abrah.* Opp. t. i. p. 460 M., p. 412 Fr. Compare Psalms lxxx. 5, xlvi. 3. *De Mutat. Nom.* Opp. t. i. p. 590 M., p. 1062 Fr. Compare Psalm xxii. 1. *Quod a Deo mitt. Somnia,* Opp. t. i. p. 632 M., p. 576 Fr. Compare Psalm xxvi. 1. *De Confus. Ling.* Opp. t. i. p. 411 M., p. 327 Fr. Compare Psalm xliv. 13. *De Profugis,* Opp. t. i. p. 545 M., p. 459 Fr. Compare Psalm cxiii. 25. *De Somniis,* Opp. t. i. p. 691 M., p. 1141 Fr. Compare Psalm xlvi. 5. It is evident from these passages that all the books of the Psalms, which at different times had been brought into a whole, were quoted by Philo.

SECTION 32.—*Third Class. Writings not mentioned by Philo at all.*

Philo never speaks (1) of Nehemiah, (2) Ruth, (3) Esther, (4) Chronicles, (5) Daniel, (6) Lamentations of Jeremiah, (7) Ecclesiastes, (8) the Song of Songs.

SECTION 33.—*Some Remarks upon and Result of the preceding Inquiry.*

I. To the Jewish writings whose Divine origin is expressly acknowledged by Philo, with the highest probability, and even in Philo's own sense, the following may be added :—

1. The Second Book of Samuel and the two Books of Kings. For the First Book of Samuel he terms *iερον λόγον* (s. 29). Now, he, as well as all writers who follow the LXX, considers the two Books of Samuel and the two Books of Kings as one entire work or single book, which is again by them distributed into four parts or books. Whoever, then, affirms the first of these four books to be *iερος λόγος* implies the same character to the remaining three.

2. All the twelve Lesser Prophets. As far as we can trace backwards the literary history of the Bible we find the twelve Lesser Prophets always regarded as one book, Sirach xlix. 10. Whoever, then, cites one of the Lesser Prophets—and Philo cites two of them with the express recognition of a Divine origin—cites in fact all.

II. Since, however, the apocryphal books were known to Philo, but not one of them has been quoted by him (s. 26), we may safely consider all the books of his nation deemed by him worthy of quotation to be in his judgment genuine, ancient, and holy writings. The mere citation of

a book is, then, to be taken as a proof that it was contained in Philo's canon, and the books between which hitherto for the sake of impartiality we have made a distinction drawn from the formula of citation, may henceforth without hesitation be thrown into one class.

III. Wherefore the following books may be taken as having certainly belonged to the canon of Philo or of the Egyptian Jews :—

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Five Books of Moses.
2. Joshua.
3. Judges.
4. 2 Books of Samuel.
5. 2 Books of Kings.
6. Ezra. | 7. Isaiah.
8. Jeremiah.
9. 12 Lesser Prophets.
10. Psalms.
11. Proverbs.
12. Job. |
|--|--|

IV. The others may have also stood in the Egyptian canon. Probably Ruth was an annex to the Book of Judges, Nehemiah, the second part of Ezra, and the Lamentations of Jeremiah in all likelihood joined on to his prophecies, as in Palestine (ss. 21, 22, and 53 &c.). Philo, however, says nothing on this point, or of the existence of the books. Our knowledge, then, of the Egyptian canon is imperfect. But neither this imperfection, nor the silence of Philo, can affect the canonical reputation of any book as long as no other hostile grounds exist (s. 25).

SECTION 34.—*Canon of the Therapeutæ.*

Finally, an inquiry into the canon of single Jewish sects in Egypt is scarcely worth the pains; it belongs rather to the history of their opinions than to that of the canon. For the purpose of our inquiry only the opinion of the majority of the Jews can be of importance, and not that of separate religious parties. In the meantime,

however, it is extremely probable that the fanatical Therapeutæ at least did not differ from the rest of the Egyptian Jews with respect to the canon (sec. 22).¹

III. CANON OF THE JEWS IN PALESTINE.

SECTION 35.—*Sources: Canon of the Sadducees and Samaritans.*

At the time of Christ and the Apostles, amidst the various sects and parties into which the Jews in Palestine were divided, there appears to have been no difference of opinion as to the number of their sacred books. The Fathers of the Church have, however, at times declared that the Sadducees probably rejected all the writings of the Old Testament except the five books of Moses;² and some modern critics consider this supposition as well grounded, because Jesus, on a certain occasion, endeavoured to convince the Sadducees of the resurrection of the dead, concerning which they doubted, not out of the Prophets and Hagiographa, but merely out of Moses, just as if they allowed to the former no value, and no weight in the decision of a disputed question.³

If the school of the Sadducees had arisen in times so ancient that only a part of our present writings of the Old Testament was then in existence, any difference of their opinion as to the number of books constituting the collection would admit of an easy explanation by reference to the time of their origin: they had accepted only those books acknowledged as sacred before their separation, and

¹ See (§ 22) the passage quoted from Philo; but Josephus *De Bello Jud.* lib. ii. c. 8, § 6, at the end of § 12, cannot be used as a proof. It says only that the Essenes possessed holy books.

² Hieronymus, *in Matth.* Origenes, *Contra Celsum*, lib. i.

³ Matth. xxii. 23. Rich. Simon. *Hist. Crit. du N. T.* lib. i. c. 16.

rejected all the rest, because proceeding from authors who did not belong to their sect. But since they arose from amid the multitude at a time when the sacred volume with the Jews had long been fixed in point of extent, and the completion of the canon effected; since there was no insuperable difficulty in reconciling their doctrines with all the writings of the Old Testament as soon as their compatibility with the Mosaical books was shown; a divergence from the opinion of other Jews on this head would be unexpected and difficult of explanation with reference to the time of their rise. Josephus, who was so intimately acquainted with the doctrines of the Pharisees, knows of no opinion peculiar to them in this respect; he relates merely that, with the rejection of all traditions, they held only to the written Law, without declaring how many books they reckoned to their sacred national writings; and when he mentions the doctrines which distinguished the Sadducees from the Pharisees, he does not suffer an expression to escape him from whence any difference of opinion of these two sects as to the number of their sacred books can be inferred. Would the dignity of the high-priest's office have been accessible also to Sadducees, if their belief on so important a point had varied from that of the entire nation? and since both before and at the time of Christ a Sadduceean family had long appropriated this dignity, how could they with propriety have enjoined the reading of the Haphtaren together with the Parashen if denying to the Prophets an equal estimation with Moses? And if we may build at all upon the disputes between the Pharisees and the Sadducees in the Talmud, R. Gamaliel does not prove the resurrection of the dead merely out of Moses, but also from the Prophets and the Hagiographa, without any exception on the part of his antagonists the Sadducees against the value and weight of the latter in matters of theo-

logical dispute ; on the contrary, admitting their validity, they sought to weaken the strength of proof of the cited passages on other grounds. Under such circumstances, the opinion respecting the agreement of the Sadducees and Pharisees upon the point of the number of their sacred national books can by no means be weakened by a conjecture of the Church Fathers ; and if Christ, upon the occasion of a dispute with the Sadducees, proves the resurrection of the dead only from Moses, this must be altogether accidental.¹

The Samaritans, then, alone accept only the Pentateuch, and reject all the other books of our present canon. Were the causes of this rejection on their part even not known (sec. 383), nothing could be inferred from it against the present extent of the Hebrew canon. They may instruct us as to the private opinion of their party, but not as to that of the Jews ; information concerning the latter we can only acquire from the New Testament, Josephus, the Christian Doctors of the first century after the birth of Christ, Melito, Origen, Jerome, and the Talmud. Even the later Church Fathers are too modern for our instruction.

¹ Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, t. ii. Part i. p. 325 ff., and out of him Brucker, *Hist. Crit. Phil.* t. ii. p. 721, have decided this question in the same way. Basnage may, for the sake of retaining the precious suffrages of the Church Fathers, affirm the Sadducees to have conceded a much greater respect to the writings of Moses than to other scriptures ; to which Brucker has provided the right answer, that there are no proofs to the point in existence, and that, for the sake of a few Church Fathers, there was no necessity for grasping at such a desperate remedy. The good Fathers may have erred.

SECTION 36.—1. *The New Testament.*

The New Testament appeals to the Old in innumerable places, but nowhere does it enumerate the component parts thereof. That, indeed, was not to be expected. When Christ and the Apostles referred to the *whole*, everybody at that time knew—or, if he did not know, had the certain means of acquiring the information—what books and how many were its constituents. Hence we must be satisfied with deriving what aid we can from the incidental citations of single passages; and cannot expect, simply on account of their incidental character, any complete idea of the canon of the Old Testament in its full extent and in reference to all its greater and lesser parts. If not a single trace of many individual books of our present canon of the Old Testament is to be found in the New, their judgment of condemnation is not yet pronounced. For the argument drawn from the silence respecting them could only gain the strength of proof when it is shown that Christ and His Apostles were under a *necessity* of speaking of each book separately.

SECTION 37.—*Citata of the New Testament.*

The citations from the Old Testament in the New are of two kinds: some books are quoted for the establishment of religious truths—therefore, from the use made of them, declared to be divine; these, therefore, without hesitation are taken to be canonical. Others are merely quoted sometimes for illustration, sometimes to furnish parallel passages. To the first class belong beyond doubt Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the Psalms; to the second all our other canonical books of the Old Testament excepting the book of Judges, the Preacher, the Song of Songs, Esther, Ezra, and Nehemiah, which are never referred to.

SECTION 38.—2. *Josephus (nat. A. C. 37).*

Josephus, next to the New Testament, is the chief author to be interrogated, in an inquiry into the Palestinian canon. He was a contemporary of the Apostles and must as a priest have had the most perfect knowledge of the canon of his nation, because, as it appears, an authentic collection of the canonical books was preserved in the temple (sec. 39). Moreover, he was an acute inquirer after truth, and would never have enumerated amongst the sacred books of his nation any work not universally acknowledged as such, in order not to increase the subjects of reproach levelled against Jewish history.¹ It is therefore much to be lamented that he nowhere makes a complete review of all the books of his canon, and, with the exception of a general enumeration, merely lets fall here and there, as if by accident, solitary expressions to lead to a more precise designation.

SECTION 39.—*Whether he puts forward the General Opinion of his Brothers in the Faith respecting the Canon of the New Testament.*

The word *κανών* was never applied by him to the collection of the holy books of his nation. It was also in his time not in use in this sense. But he speaks of ‘holy books composed by Prophets before the death of Artaxerxes Longimanus, and preserved in the temple.² This would be Josephus’s true idea of what is now termed *κανών*. And since he sets out with this idea it is evident that as a Pharisee he cherished no opinion respecting the canon of

¹ Read his famous passage *Contra Ap.* lib. i. § 8, at the beginning.

² See below (§ 46) note 2, and the passage *Contra Ap.* lib. i. § 8, *Ἄπο Μωϋσεως, &c.*

the Old Testament different from that of his brothers in the faith; or, if even he were wedded to a particular opinion he at least brings none such forward in the passages named. Even the coherency of his evidence respecting the canonical collection of the books of his nation and the generalised nature of the expression leaves no room for doubt on the subject. He says, for instance, ‘After Artaxerxes down to our times, indeed, a record of everything has been kept, but to these writings the same faith is not attached as to those early compositions.’ Had Josephus wished to bring forward his private opinion, as contradistinguished from the public opinion, of the canon, he would doubtless have used a more limited expression—‘not in my opinion so worthy of faith as those,’ or ‘not in the estimation of the Pharisees so credible as those’—particularly as it is his general practice to distinguish precisely between public and private opinions. Finally it is probable from many passages, in his Archæology at least, that in the years of his manhood he left the Pharisaical sect to which in his youth he had been attached. Now since he wrote his books against Apion at a later time than his Archæology, it is impossible that he should have followed Pharisaical principles in this work.¹

SECTION 40.—*Chief Passage.*

Josephus writes in the famous passage against Apion to maintain at once the credibility of the Hebrew historians and of the history itself. He appeals, therefore, partly to the harmony of profane history with that of the Jews and partly to the great accuracy with which the historical books of his nation were written. None of the books of Hebrew history are inconsistent with the rest, because

¹ Spittler, *De Usu Versionis Alexandrinæ apud Josephum* (Goetting. 1779), pp. 4, 5.

the record of Hebrew events was not competent to every one, for Prophets alone were the historiographers of his nation. Hereupon commences the important passage, given also by Eusebius with some trifling variations.¹

Οὐ γαρ μυριαδες βιβλιων είσι παρ' ἡμιν, ἀσυμφωνων και μαχομενων· δυο δε μονα προς τοις εἰκοσι βιβλια, του παντος ἔχοντα χρονου την ἀναγραφην, τα δικαιως θεια² πεπιστευμενα. Και τουτων πεντε μεν ἔστι τα Μωϋσεως, ἀ τους τε νομους περιεχει και την της ἀνθρωπογονιας παραδοσιν, μεχρι της αὐτου τελευτης. Ούτος ὁ χρονος ἀπολειπει τρισχιλιων δλιγον ἐτων. Ἀπο δε της Μωϋσεως τελευτης μεχρι της Ἀρταξερξου, του μετα Ξερξην Περσων βασιλεως, ἀρχης,³ οι μετα Μωϋσην προφηται τα κατ' αὐτους πραχθεντα συνεγραψαν ἐν τρισι και δεκα βιβλιοις. Αι δε λοιπαι τεσσαρες ύμνους εἰς τον Θεον και τοις ἀνθρωποις ὑποθηκας του βιου περιεχουσιν. Ἀπο δε Ἀρταξερξου μεχρι του καθ' ἡμας χρονου γεγραπται μεν ἔκαστα, πιστεως δε οὐχ ὁμοιας ἡξιωται της προ αὐτων, δια το μη γενεσθαι την των προφητων ἀκριβη διαδοχην. Δηλον δ' ἔστιν ἐργῳ, πως ἡμεις τοις ἴδιοις γραμμασι πεπιστευκαμεν. Τοσουτου γαρ αἰώνος ἥδη παρωχηκοτος, οὔτε προσθειναι τις οὐδεν,⁴ οὔτε ἀφελειν⁵ αὐτων, οὔτε μεταθειναι τετολμηκε. Πασι δε συμφυτον ἔστιν εὐθυς ἐκ της πρωτης γενεσεως Ιουδαιοις, το νομιζειν⁶ αὐτα Θεου δογματα, και τουτοις ἐμμενειν,⁷ και ὑπερ αὐτων, εἰ δεοι, θησκειν ἥδεως.

¹ Josephus, *Contra Ap.* lib. i. § 8. Compare Eusebius in *Histor. Eccl.* 10 p. m. 103, 104.

² The word *θεια* did not stand in the old editions of Josephus; it was interpolated into Eusebius in modern times.

³ The greater number of MSS. of Josephus and Eusebius leave this *ἀρχης* out. See below, § 41.

⁴ Οὐδεν is wanting in Eusebius. The sense remains the same.

⁵ Eusebius has *ἀφελειν ἀπ' αὐτων*.

⁶ The false reading *ὄνομαζειν αὐτα* has been corrected from Eusebius.

⁷ Eusebius, *ἐπιμενειν*.

' For we do not possess numberless books which contradict one another, but only twenty-two, which contain the history of all past times and are justly entitled to credit' (according to Eusebius, 'justly held to be divine'). ' Five of these books come down from Moses, and contain laws and the account of the origin of mankind, and go down to his death. This space falls but a little short of 3,000 years. From Moses' death to the reign of Artaxerxes' (according to Eusebius, 'from Moses' death to the death of Artaxerxes'), ' who after Xerxes reigned over the Persians, the events of their times were recorded in thirteen books by the prophets who lived after Moses. The other four books contain hymns of praise to God and maxims of morals for men. From the times of Artaxerxes down to our days, all events have indeed been recorded, but these writings are not held entitled to the same credit as those early histories, because since that epoch no regular succession of Prophets has existed. What credibility we ascribe to our books is evident from our conduct. For notwithstanding the lapse of so long an interval of time, no one has hitherto dared to make any additions, diminutions, or alterations therein. For it is the born duty of all Jews to acknowledge these books for the lessons of God, firmly to stand by them, and if need be to die for them with pleasure.'

SECTION 41.—*Why Josephus closes the Canon of the Old Testament with Artaxerxes Longimanus.*

According to this passage Josephus reckons all those writings under the head canonical which were written from the time of Moses down to the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus. With the reign (*ἀρχή*) of Artaxerxes the collection was closed—a very general determination, and according to which books composed during the reign of

Artaxerxes would belong to the canon. It is worth while to inquire for what reason Josephus employed so general a term. Had he been aware of a particular *year* in which the canon was closed in a solemn manner, or acquainted with a *person* who had effected its settlement, he would certainly have given that preciser date. Most probably he was uninformed in both respects. Now he was equally compelled and disposed to state the time after which no works entitled to credit in so high a degree were written; wherefore, nothing remained but to place the collection before him, find out the latest book which belonged to it, and declare the date to which it belonged. Now the book of Esther, either *really*, or at least in the opinion of Josephus, was this latest book; it either belonged *really*, or at least in his opinion, to the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus,¹ and therefore he closed the canon with his reign.²

¹ On this subject we have Josephus's own acknowledgment, *Antiq.* xi. c. 6, § 1 ff.: 'Εγραψε δε Μαρδοχαιος τοις ἐν τῇ Ἀρταξέρξου βασιλεως ζωσιν Ἰουδαιοις ταυτας παραφυλασσειν τας ἡμερας και ἐορτην ἀγειν αὐτας, and so on.

² The *Zurich Library* (Part i. § 181) objects: 'The book of Esther must be reckoned by Josephus to the canon like all other books written in the reign of Artaxerxes, and the canon closed with it as if it could not have concluded with Nehemiah, whose history goes necessarily down to the beginning of his reign, or with Malachi, whose era is not known. Both may have written under the Artaxerxes of Josephus. The book of Esther was probably written after Artaxerxes, in whose reign the events are said to have occurred. Everything, indeed (as is mentioned in the 10th chapter), which happened after the elevation of Mardochæus was recorded in the chronicles of the kings of Persia as long as Mardochæus remained at the helm. At least that is so declared. And if regard be also had to the Greek subscription in the supplement, the book was first made known by an uncertain hand, in a translation at the time of the Ptolemies in Egypt.' So far the long objection, to whose validity nothing else is wanting than the possibility of our opinion as to the time to which the book of Esther, or the story recorded in it, belongs, or that of the author of the Greek subscription on this point, exercising any influence in determining the proposed question. The

But why does he not say rather, Esther was the latest book? Because, perhaps, this mode of fixing the time when the canon was closed might not have been generally intelligible, and the question would again necessarily arise, to what period the book of Esther itself falls; perhaps to avoid the objection that Esther did not, in fact, stand at the end of the collection. Esther, indeed, might be the last written book, and yet not occupy the last place in the canon, because, according to the plan of its compilers, the complementary register to the entire biblical history, the book of Chronicles, would form its necessary conclusion, and did, in fact, according to the declaration of the New Testament, at that time as well as in our editions, close it, as has been (sec. 7) shown above.

How many difficulties are removed by these remarks founded on the writings of Josephus, and how many questions answered, may be *felt* by their application to modern disputes respecting the canon.

According to Eusebius, and most manuscripts of Josephus, the canon was not closed till the death of Artaxerxes, a determination which varies but little from the preceding one, at least in sense.

SECTION 42.—*Why does Josephus adopt Twenty-two Canonical Books?*

The Hebrews, according to Josephus, possessed twenty-two holy books. So he counts, together with his nation, according to the calculation of the Hebrew alphabet. For whole matter depends on the relation of Josephus; he must be his own interpreter; and according to his express declaration the book of Esther belongs to the time of Artaxerxes. He could not close the canon of the O. T. with Nehemiah because he places him and his book of history in the time of Xerxes. Malachi could not have been made the latest book (had it even been really such) by Josephus, because he was not aware in what Persian reign his discourses were by him published.

that he referred in this matter to the number of consonants in the Hebrew alphabet, both Origen and other Church Fathers expressly declare (sec. 53, 55); also it is agreeable to analogy, as has been shown above (sec. 6). Wherefore, exactly reckoned, the number of Jewish books was not limited to only twenty-two; it was only possible by a certain arrangement to reduce the existing writings within that number.

SECTION 43.—1. *General Calculation.*

Five books belonged to Moses, thirteen were the work of Prophets between Moses and Artaxerxes Longimanus, also besides these four others were extant containing matter of a moral nature.

If we may venture to follow a later author, Origen, who, like Josephus, fixes the number of books of the Old Testament at twenty-two, and counts them one after the other, the thirteen books of the second class would admit of the following arrangement:—

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Joshua. | 8. Isaiah. |
| 2. Judges and Ruth. | 9. Prophecies of Jeremiah
and Lamentations. |
| 3. 2 Books of Samuel. | 10. Ezekiel. |
| 4. 2 Books of Kings. | 11. Daniel. |
| 5. 2 Books of Chronicles. | 12. 12 lesser Prophets. |
| 6. 1st and 2nd books of Ezra,
Ezra and Nehemiah. | 13. Job. |
| 7. Esther. | |

The four books of moral contents would be—

- | | |
|--------------|-------------------|
| 1. Psalms. | 3. Ecclesiastes. |
| 2. Proverbs. | 4. Song of Songs. |

But was the source from whence Origen drew pure? Did not the great revolutions, which struck the Hebrew nation between the time of Josephus and Origen, exert also a

prejudicial influence on their collection of canonical books? During this interval, whether from ignorance, accident, or fraud, were not writings advanced into the canonical collection which had never been there before? Thus may one question; and though much may be said at once in reply, it is still more advisable, and worthy of the inquirer after truth, to avoid this method, lest the imputation, with even the smallest look of probability, should be made of a disposition on his part to steal an advantage, or to build all upon hypothesis. Josephus is entitled to be his own commentator; we will request his judgment upon separate books of the Old Testament, and found a new calculation on his answers, below.

SECTION 44.—*Particular Reckoning.*

PROLEGOMENA.

In the first place, some remarks which may, perhaps, shed light upon the passages which I shall extract from Josephus, and which may lead our judgment respecting them.

1. All writings referred by Josephus to Prophets belonged to his canon, for he rests the exalted credit and certainty of his national writings on the fact that they were the work of *Prophets* (sec. 39, 46).

2. Indisputably he declares to be canonical all the writings which he describes as *ιερας βιβλους*, *τας των ιερων γραφων βιβλους*, *ιερα γραμμata*, *τα ἐν τῷ ιερῷ ἀνακειμενα γραμμata*, and *βιβλους προφητειας*. This is shown by the selection of the terms, and the passages which will be quoted below leave not a shadow of doubt on the point.

3. With the above-quoted expressions, the following are of like signification, as: *ἀρχαια βιβλia*, *βιβλoi*

'Εβραιων, βιβλοι Ἐβραικαι. This is undeniably certain from numerous passages. Daniel, in his estimation, was a very important Prophet, the exact fulfilment of whose prophecies he applauds in very strong language (sec. 46). And he includes his book merely amongst the *βιβλους* *'Εβραιων* and *ἀρχαια βιβλια* from whence he drew the materials of his history. After having drawn much information from Daniel, he adds¹: ‘Let no one lay to me as a charge that I have transferred everything into my writings just as I found it in the ancient books (*ἐν τοις ἀρχαιοις βιβλιοις*). For at the very commencement of my history I sheltered myself against the apprehension of omissions or a disposition to blame, by the announcement that it was my intention merely to translate the Hebrew Books (*'Εβραιων βιβλους*) into Greek, without any additions or subtractions of my own.’ In another place he excerpts the adventure which happened to Jonas, in the manner recorded by Jonas himself in the Prophets, mixed up, however, with his own, partly false, explanations; but he remarks on the occasion² ‘that his story of the Prophet is what he finds related concerning him in the Hebrew Books (*'Εβραικαις βιβλοις*)’—an evident proof that by *βιβλοις* *'Εβραικαις* he understands the canonical writings of his brothers in the faith.

4. All the writings which he in the history of his nation down to Artaxerxes excerpts, must have belonged to the canon of Josephus. For, firstly, Josephus even rests the credibility of Jewish history from Moses to Artaxerxes upon the circumstance that it was written entirely and alone by Prophets, and declares that the Jews possessed no other historical books than such as were the composition of Prophets.³ Wherefore in the history

¹ *Antiquit.* x. c. 10, § 6, p. 536. ² *Antiq.* lib. ix. c. 10, § 2, p. 497.

³ *Contra Ap.* lib. i. § 8. Above, § 26.

of the Hebrews to Artaxerxes Longimanus, it is impossible that he can take any other authority than these. And, secondly, it is also evident from inspection. We find those historical books which he places, by simple enumeration, in his canon, as—the five books of Moses, the book of Joshua, the books of Kings (sec. 46), transferred entire as to their contents into his Archæology. Of just the same value will have been also the other sources of his national history to Artaxerxes. In the meantime, however, it is not to be denied that even in the older part of Hebrew history he mentions facts of which in the historical books of the Old Testament not a trace is to be found. Probably he drew these additions out of national traditions, which in his time were abundantly current from mouth to mouth, but which had not then been reduced to writing. In like manner Paul, for instance, refers to a mere tradition when he makes Jannes and Jambres strive for superiority in wonder-working before Pharaoh (2 Tim. iii. 8), a tradition also which Pseudo-Jonathan has introduced into his Targum, 2 Book Moses i. 15, vii. 2.

5. All Hebrew books of all kinds extant in Josephus's time but coming from times before the death of Artaxerxes are with him *without exception* canonical. For he closes his evidence respecting the canon of his nation with the remark that all books whose authors lived after Artaxerxes Longimanus were of far inferior estimation. Now if he had not assigned to all books written before the aforesaid time equal value and equal weight, he would not have thrown *all* into one class, nor deduced *all* from Prophets; but with the very same foresight would have cut off from the rest all those which were of inferior repute. If, then, it can be shown of a book, first, that Josephus was acquainted with it, and, secondly, that it was not

written after the time of Artaxerxes, it belongs to Josephus's canon.

6. Finally, all books composed after Artaxerxes must in the sense of Josephus be deemed *apocryphal*, even if their contents went back into the reign of that prince.¹

SECTION 45.—*Distribution of the Judgments of Josephus respecting Single Books of the Old Testament.*

After these remarks the judgments passed by Josephus on single books of the Old Testament may with propriety follow.² But I arrange them, to facilitate the review, into three classes :—

1. Books which he expressly enumerates amongst the holy books of his nation.
2. Books of which, without this express evidence, he merely makes use as an author.
3. Books which he passes over altogether with silence.

FIRST CLASS.—BOOKS EXPRESSLY PLACED BY JOSEPHUS AMONGST THE HOLY BOOKS OF HIS NATION.

SECTION 46.—*Five Books of Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Jonah, Nahum, Haggai, Zechariah, Joshua, Books of Kings, Psalms.*

The *Five Books of Moses* are expressly named by Josephus in the passage above given ; and everywhere,

¹ The doubts adduced by Spittler in his programme, *De Usu Versionis Alexandrinae apud Josephum*, § 18-22, respecting the validity of the testimony of Josephus about the canon, are, in my opinion, removed, as soon as a view has been taken of all the passages in which Josephus either directly or impliedly passes sentence on the books of the O. T. Towards which object the following paragraphs, it is hoped, will assist.

² To this purpose a handsome contribution has been already made by Ch. Fred. Smith in two programmes, entitled, *Enarratio Sententiae Flav. Josephi de libris V. T.* (Wittenb. 1777).

when his thoughts are directed towards them, he speaks of them with high esteem and much reverence. He calls them *ἱερας βιβλους*¹ and *τας των ἱερων γραφων βιβλους*.²

Isaiah.—His prophecies are termed by him, on the occasion of imparting the information that the oracle respecting himself had been read by Cyrus: *βιβλιον, ο της αὐτου προφητειας Ἡσαιας κατελιπε προ ἐτων διακοσιων και δεκα.*³ In other places he is simply called *προφητης*,⁴ and in the biography of Hezekiah, *προφητης, παρ' ον ('Εζεκιας) παντ' ἀκριβως τα μελλοντα ἐπυνθανετο.*⁵

Jeremiah is with him *προφητης ὁς τα μελλοντα τη πολει δεινα προεκηρυξε*,⁶ by which expression the contents of his prophecies are accurately distinguished.

Ezekiel is cited by the title *προφητης*, and his prophecies are brought into comparison with those of *Jeremiah*.⁷

Our *Daniel Josephus* places amongst the *ἱερα γραμματα*:⁸ he terms his prophecies *προφητειαν προ τετρα-*

¹ *Antiq.* lib. i. p. 5, at the end of the preface; lib. iii. c. 5, § 2, p. 128; lib. iv. c. 8, § 48, p. 255; lib. iv. c. 2, § 2, p. 475; lib. x. c. 4, § 2, p. 517. ed. Haverc., which I always cite.

² *Contra Ap.* lib. ii. § 4, p. 472. Many other passages show the reverence with which Josephus and his brothers in the faith speak of the Mosaical writings. *Antiq.* lib. i. c. 4, xx. c. 5, p. 966, iii. c. 6, p. m. 135, iv. c. 8, p. m. 251, x. c. 4, p. m. 251, x. c. 4, p. m. 517, xvi. c. 6, p. m. 800.

³ *Antiq.* xi. c. 1, § 2, p. 547.

⁴ *Antiq.* x. c. 2, § 2, p. 514.

⁵ *Antiq.* xi. c. 13, § 3, p. 506.

⁶ *Antiq.* x. c. 5, § 1, p. 520. See the following note.

⁷ The same, *Οὗτος δ προφητης ('Ιερεμιας) και τα μελλοντα τη πολει δεινα προεκηρυξε, ἐν γραμμασι καταλιπων, και την υπηρεσιν ἡμων γενομενην ἀλωσιν την τε Βαθυλωνιαν αἰρεσιν. Οὐ μονον δε οὗτος προεθεσπισε ταυτα τοις ὄχλοις, ἀλλα και δ προφητης 'Ιεζεκιηλος.*

⁸ *Antiq.* lib. x. c. 10, § 4, p. 535. After having made some quotation

κοσιων και ὁκτω γενομενην ἔτων,¹ and expresses himself in another place very strongly as to their truth.²

The twelve lesser prophets are regarded by Josephus as one book; he calls them *δωδεκα τον ἀριθμον*, and places them, on account of the exact fulfilment of their prophecies, by the side of the Prophet Isaiah.³ Some of them he quotes also in an especial manner.

Jonah is declared by him to be a true prophet; whereupon he describes the singular accidents of his life in such wise that it is evident he draws his materials from the account prepared by Jonah himself, with a mixture, however, of his own partly false comments, although his mode of reference be merely general, and to the *βιβλους Ἐβραικας*.⁴

Nahum also is named by him *προφητης*, and is extolled for the accurate accomplishment of his predictions.⁵

Haggai and *Zechariah* are termed *δυο προφηται*.⁶

from Daniel, he concludes with the following words: ‘Whoever will examine into this, *σπουδασατω το βιβλιον ἀναγνωναι του Δανιηλου· εύρησε δε τουτο ἐν τοις ιεροις γραμμασι.*’ Compare above, § 44, p. 95, note 1.

¹ *Antiq.* lib. xii. c. 7, § 6. p. 617.

² *Antiq.* lib. x. c. 11, § 7, p. 544. *Ταυτα παντα ἐκεινος, Θεου δειξαντος αὐτῳ, συγγραψας κατελειψεν, ὡστε τους ἀναγινωσκοντας και τα συμβαινοντα σκοπουντας θαυμαζειν ἐπι τη παρα του Θεου τιμη τον Δανιηλον.* Moreover Josephus excerpts the eight first chapters of Daniel. *Antiq.* lib. x. c. 10 and 11.

³ *Antiq.* x. c. 2, § 2, p. 515. *Και οὐχ οὗτος μονος δ προφητης (Ἐστιας), ἀλλα και ἄλλοι δωδεκα τον ἀριθμον το αὐτο ἐποιησαν.* *Και παν, είτε ἀγαθον είτε φαυλον, γινεται παρ' ἡμιν, κατα την ἐκεινων ἀποβαινει προφητειαν.*

⁴ *Antiq.* ix. c. 10, § 1, 2, pp. 497, 498. *Τουτῳ* (it runs § 1) *προεφητευσε τις Ἰωνας . . .* He refers in the biography of Jonah to the *βιβλους Ἐβραικας* (see above, § 44) and closes the 2nd section with the words *διεξηλθον δε την περι αὐτου διηγησιν, ὡς εύρον ἀναγεγραμμενην.*

⁵ *Antiq.* lib. ix. c. 11, § 3, pp. 501, 502.

⁶ *Antiq.* lib. xi. c. 4, § 5, p. 557.

The book of *Joshua* is mentioned by Josephus as one of the books kept in the Temple.¹

The *Books of Kings*.—The book in which the history of the prophet Elias is recorded—that is, the books of Kings—he places by the side of that which tells us of Enoch—that is, by the first book of Moses; both he terms *ἱερας βιβλους*.²

Psalms.—They are in the above passage expressly distinguished by the title *ἱμνοι εἰς τὸν Θεον*, and Josephus mentions them also elsewhere by the name Songs of David, because David was their chief author.³

SECOND CLASS.—BOOKS QUOTED BY JOSEPHUS WITHOUT ADDITIONS, OR THOSE OF WHICH HE AVAILS HIMSELF MERELY AS AN AUTHOR.

SECTION 47.—*Lamentations, Judges, Ruth, Books of Samuel, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther.*

The *Lamentations of Jeremiah*, which in the opinion of Josephus were written on the occasion of the death of King Josiah, are by him quoted as a then extant poem.⁴ Compare sec. 44, n. 5.

Judges and *Ruth*.—Both contain the incidents of far remote antiquity, and must have been written long before the time of Artaxerxes. Josephus is not only acquainted with them both, but in the fifth book of his

¹ *Antiq.* lib. v. c. 1, § 17, p. 273. ‘Οτι δε το μηκος της ἡμερας ἐπεδωκε τοτε, και του συνηθους ἐπλεονασε, δηλουται δια των ἀνακειμενων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ γραμματων.

² *Antiq.* lib. ix. c. 2, § 2, p. 475. Περι μεντοι γε Ἡλια και Ἐνωχου του γενομενου προ της ἐπομβριας ἐν ταις ἵεραις ἀναγεγραπται βιβλοις, ὅτι γεγονασιν ἀφανεις, θανατον δ' αὐτων οὐδεις οιδεν.

³ *Antiq.* lib. vii. c. 12, § 3.

⁴ *Antiq.* lib. x. c. 5, § 1, p. 520. ‘Ιερεμιας δ' δ προφητης ἐπικηδειον αὐτου συνεταξε μελος θρηνητικον, δ και μεχρι νυν διαμενει.

Archæology makes abundant use of them. Compare sec. 44, n. 5, 6.

The two *Books of Samuel* were extant in their present form long before Artaxerxes; we find them also word for word transferred from the fifth to the seventh book of his ‘Antiquities.’¹ Compare sec. 44, n. 5, 6.

The two *Books of Chronicles* are used by Josephus in his ‘Antiquities’ from the seventh to the tenth book, only the second more abundantly than the first, because the former supplies more aids to Hebrew history than the latter.²

Ezra and *Nehemiah*.—According to Josephus, the events contained in these books belong to the times of King Xerxes;³ and since the canon was not closed till the time of his successor, Artaxerxes, they may be both safely placed in his canon. He makes also abundant use of both.⁴

Finally, *Esther* was certainly a part of his canon. For he places the contents of the book in the reign of Xerxes Longimanus, and closes the canon with his reign, because this book was the most recent found by him in the collection of the national sacred writings (sec. 41). He makes extracts also from the contents of this book.⁵ These are the writings of the second class. And if one of them is to be

¹ So is also the lamentation on the death of Saul and Jonathan, 2 Samuel i., *Antiq.* viii. c. 1, § 1.

² *Antiq.* lib. viii. c. 12, § 4, p. 453, compare 2 Chronicles xiv. 8. *Antiq.* lib. viii. c. 15, § 1, 2, p. 466, compare 2 Chronicles xvii. 7, &c.

³ *Antiq.* lib. xi. c. 5, § 8, p. 566. Josephus is speaking of Jeremiah, and concludes with the words: Ταῦτα μεν οὖν ἐπι Σερξου βασιλεως ἔγενετο. Lib. xi. c. 5, § 1, 2, p. 560, Ἐσδρας . . . γινεται φιλος τω βασιλει Σερξη, and immediately after follows a letter of Xerxes to Ezra.

⁴ Particularly *Antiq.* lib. xi. But he mixes with it also matter from the third book of Ezra. See *Antiq.* lib. xi. c. 3.

⁵ *Antiq.* lib. xi. c. 6.

struck out of Josephus's canon, since the same grounds exist for all, *all* the rest must lose their places, and how, then, are the thirteen prophetical books to be made up?

THIRD CLASS.—BOOKS WHICH JOSEPHUS PASSES OVER IN SILENCE.

SECTION 48.—*Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Job.*

Of Solomon as an author Josephus speaks, but only in general terms;¹ by name he quotes neither *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, nor the *Song of Solomon*.

Just as little mention does he make of the book of *Job* or its hero.

SECTION 49.—*Some Remarks.*

According to these observations, then, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, the two books of Samuel, the two books of Kings, and the two of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Isaiah, Jeremiah, including both the Prophecies and Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, and the twelve lesser Prophets belonged certainly to the canon of Josephus; and all these books must be placed in the second class, forming the thirteen prophetical. For they consist partly of prophecies, partly history, and the latter as well as the former mean with Josephus and other writers both before and after his time works of *prophets*,² partly because the events of their times have been really recorded by some prophets, partly because נבִיא signifies often a writer in general. Now let the reckoning be made as it may, the only doubtful point still remaining is whether Josephus

¹ *Antiq. lib. viii. c. 2, § 5, p. 419.*

² Philo, above, § 28. Theodoretus in *Præf. ad Libros Regum.* Euseb. *Præparatio Evang.* Abarbanel, *Præf. in Josuam.*

includes Job in the class of prophetical books, supposing Job to have formed a part of his canon.

Now no one has hitherto entertained a doubt that Job at the time of Christ and the Apostles held a place in the collection of holy books of the Jews; Philo and the New Testament are acquainted with the book; it was extant doubtless long, long before the fixing of the canon; and though Josephus mentions neither the work nor its hero, it by no means follows that the work itself was not found by him amongst the collection of national books. Was he under a *necessity* of speaking of it, since, according to the usual opinion of antiquity, he regarded probably the hero of the story as a foreigner, an Arab, and was it not in his competence to write a complete book of *Hebrew* history without suffering even a syllable upon the subject to fall from him? And if it was known to Josephus and by him found amongst the sacred books of his nation, it was in all probability placed by him in the second class, amongst the thirteen *prophetical* books. For he arranged all the historical books in the second class; and to that number belonged Job, because its contents were regarded by all antiquity as true history clothed in a poetical form.

SECTION 50.—*Result of the Preceding Inquiry.*

Without any danger of mistake, we may then arrange the thirteen *prophetical books* of the second class, with Origen, in the following manner:—

- | | |
|---------------------------|--|
| 1. Joshua. | 8. Isaiah. |
| 2. Judges and Ruth. | 9. Jeremiah, Prophecies and
Lamentations. |
| 3. 2 Books of Samuel. | 10. Ezekiel. |
| 4. 2 Books of Kings. | 11. Daniel. |
| 5. 2 Books of Chronicles. | 12. 12 Lesser Prophets. |
| 6. Ezra and Nehemiah. | 13. Job. |
| 7. Esther. | |

The four books of the last class, whose contents are ethical, there can be no mistake about, although Josephus mentions only Psalms, for there are but four remaining books to arrange.

- | | |
|--------------|---------------------|
| 1. Psalms. | 3. Ecclesiastes. |
| 2. Proverbs. | 4. Song of Solomon. |

SECTION 51.—3. *Melito (flor. Sec. II.).*

The next author to Josephus who affords us information respecting the canon of the Palestinian Jews is Melito, Bishop of Sardes in the second century after the birth of Christ. He travelled into the East for the purpose of obtaining information, from the Jews there resident, of the contents and number of their sacred books, and acquainted his brother Onesimus with the result of his inquiries in a letter which Eusebius has preserved in his History of the Church (Euseb. iv. 26) :—

Μελιτων Ὄνησιμῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαιρειν· ἐπειδὴ πολλακίς ἡξιωσας σπουδῇ τη προς τὸν λογὸν χρωμένος γενεσθαι σοι ἐκλογας ἐκ τε του νομου και των προφητων περι του σωτηρος και πασης της πιστεως ἡμων, ἐτὶ δε και μαθειν την των παλαιων βιβλιων ἐβουληθες ἀκριβειαν, ποσα τον ἀριθμον, και ὅποια την ταξιν εἰεν, ἐσπουδασα το τοιουτο πραξαι, ἐπισταμενος σου το σπουδαιον περι την πιστιν, και φιλομαθεσ περι τον λογον, ὅτι τε μαλιστα παντων ποθῳ τῳ προς Θεον ταυτα προκρινεις περι της αἰωνιου σωτηριας ἀγωνιζομενος· ἀνελθων ούν εἰς την ἀνατολην, και ἔως του τοπου γενομενος ἐνθα ἐκηρυχθη και ἐπραχθη, και ἀκριβως μαθων τα της παλαιας διαθηκης βιβλια, ὑποταξας ἐπεμψα σοι· ών ἐστι τα ὄνοματα. Μωϋσεως πεντε· γενεσις, ἔξοδος, λευιτικον, ἀριθμοι, δευτερονομιον· Ἰησους ναυη, κριται, ῥουθ, βασιλειων τεσσαρα, παραλιπομενων δυο, ψαλμων δαβιδ, σαλομωνος παροιμιαι, ἥ και

σοφία, ἐκκλησιαστικῆς, ἀσμα ἀσματῶν, ἵωβ, προφητῶν, ἥσαιου, ἴερεμιου· τῶν δωδεκα ἐν μονοβιβλῷ δαυιὴλ, ἰεζεκιὴλ, ἐσδρας· ἐξ ὧν καὶ τὰς ἐκλογὰς ἐποιησαμην, εἰς ἐξ βιβλια διελων.

'Melito wishes all health to his brother Onesimus. Since, out of great affection for the word, thou hast often desired to have extracts from the Law and the Prophets, which regard the Redeemer and our entire faith ; and also to obtain exact information both as to the number and arrangement of the ancient books ; I have exerted myself to satisfy you in this respect, knowing your zeal in the faith and earnest desire of knowledge of the word ; and that in your strife after immortal happiness through desire towards God, you did prefer the same to all other considerations. Wherefore, having come into the East and being where this was both preached and practised, and having made myself intimately acquainted with the books of the Old Testament, I send you the list of them annexed. The names are as follows :—Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus. Numbers, and Deuteronomy, being the five books of Moses. Joshua, Judges, Ruth, four books of Kings, two books of Chronicles, the Psalms of David, the Proverbs of Solomon, also called Wisdom,¹ Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, Job, the Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, the twelve in one book ; Daniel, Ezekiel, and Esdras. Out of these I have made my extracts and divided them into six books.'

¹ According to Stroffi's version of this passage : but here it is abandoned because probably neither ἡ καὶ σοφία, nor ἡ σοφία is the true reading, but according to Stroffi's conjecture, ḥ καὶ σοφία. Melito, and after him Eusebius, wrote, indeed, without either accents or aspirates, η καὶ σοφία. For the reading in Nicephorus was already καὶ, and Rufinus translates, 'que et sapientia.' Afterwards, when accents were used, out of η the postpositive ἡ καὶ σοφία was made. Now ḥ could no longer be referred to βιβλια which goes before ; καὶ was also left out, and ἡ σοφία written, as some editions still read, though the matter might have been made easier with ḥ καὶ σοφία.

SECTION 52.—*Elucidation of this Passage.*

In this list, however, Nehemiah and Esther are wanting; but if the passage be read with discrimination, both will be found there. Melito here arranges the books of the Old Testament evidently according to the time in which they were written, or in which their contents occurred. Hence he places Ruth after the Book of Judges, Daniel and Ezekiel towards the end of his list, and Ezra quite last, because he wrote after the Babylonian captivity. And in like manner as he above throws the Books of Samuel and Kings together under the general name of Books of the Kings, because they contain the history of the Hebrew kingdom, from Saul to Zedechiah, or to the Babylonian captivity, so he appears under the name of Ezra to comprehend all historical books whose contents fall in the times after the captivity of Babylon. As it is, moreover, quite usual to embrace Ezra and Nehemiah in one book, why may not Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther have been also regarded as forming one entire work? If to this presumption be added that, according to Josephus (sec. 47), Nehemiah and Esther must be held to form a part of the canon, and that other important Fathers of the Church, as Origen (sec. 53) and Jerome (sec. 55), include them both expressly, the reception of the two above-named books into the canon of the Old Testament by Melito will be doubted by no impartial inquirer.¹

¹ Schmid, *Hist. et Vindic. Canonis*, c. i., admits, amongst other points, that Esther may have been omitted by the fault of a transcriber, and therefore originally included in Melito's list. I doubt it, however, since no traces of the matter are to be found, and Athanasius, Gregory Nazianz., and others who follow Melito, likewise omit Esther. See Schmid, c. i. pp. 171, 173, 193. Bruns, in his edition of Kennicotti *Diss. Gener.* p. 178, is also of my opinion.

SECTION 53.—4. *Origen (nat. A.D. 185; mort. A.D. 253).*

The next Church Father to whom we must listen is Origen, whose list of the canonical books of the Old Testament has been preserved by Eusebius ('Church History,' vi. 25). It is of extraordinary importance, because borrowed from the Jews, as Origen himself expressly declares at the commencement.

Τον μεν τοιγε πρωτον ἔξηγουμενος ψαλμον, ἐκθεσιν πεποιηται του των ἵερων γραφων της παλαιας διαθηκης καταλογου, ὡδε πως γραφων καταλεξιν · οὐκ ἀγνοητεον δ' είναι τας ἐνδιαθηκους βιβλους, ώς 'Εβραιοι παραδιδοασιν, δυο και είκοσι · ὅσος ὁ ἀριθμος των παρ' αύτοις στοιχειων ἐστιν · είτα μετα τινα, ἐπιφερει λεγων · εἰσι δε αἱ είκοσι δυο βιβλιοι καθ' Εβραιους αίδε. ἡ παρ' ήμιν γενεσις ἐπιγεγραμμενη, παρα δε 'Εβραιοις ἀπο της ἀρχης της βιβλου βρησιθ, ὅπερ ἐστιν ἐν ἀρχῃ ἔξοδος, οὐαλεσμωθ, ὅπερ ἐστι ταυτα τα δυνοματα · λευτικον, οὐκρα και ἐκαλεσεν · ἀριθμοι, ἀμμεσφεκωδειμ · δευτερονομιον, ἐλλε ἀδδεβαριμ, ούτοι οἱ λογοι · Ἰησους νίος Ναυη, Ἰωσοε βεν Νουν · κριται, ρουθ, παρ' αύτοις ἐν ἐνι, σωφετιμ. βασιλειων πρωτη δευτερα, παρ' αύτοις ἐν Σαμουηλ, ὁ θεοκλητος · βασιλειων τριτη τεταρτη ἐν ἐνι, οὐαμμελεχ δαβιδ, ὅπερ ἐστι βασιλεια δαβιδ · Παραλειπομενων πρωτη δευτερα ἐν ἐνι διβρησιαμιμ, ὅπερ ἐστι λογοι ήμερων · ἐσδρας πρωτος και δευτερος ἐν ἐνι, ἔζρα, ὁ ἐστι βοηθος · βιβλος ψαλμων, σεφερ θιλλιμ. Σαλομωνος παροιμιαι, μισλωθ, ἐκκλησιαστικης, κωελεθ · ἀσμα ἀσματων, σιρ ἀστιριμ · ήσαϊας, Ἰεσαϊα. Ἰερεμιας συν θρηνοις και τη ἐπιστολῃ ἐν ἐνι, Ἰερεμια, Δανιηλ, Δανιηλ, Ἰεζεκιηλ, Ἰεζεκιηλ, Ἰωβ, Ἰωβ. Εσθηρ, Ἐσθηρ. ἔξω δε τουτων ἐστι τα Μακκαβαικα, ἀπερ ἐπιγεγραπται Σαρβηθ σαρβανε ελ.

In the course of explaining the first Psalm he (Origen) gives a catalogue of the sacred books of the Old Testament

on which occasion he expresses himself as follows: ‘It is to be noted that the canonical Scriptures, after the reckoning of the Jews, consist, like the number of their letters, of twenty-two books.’ A little further on he proceeds: ‘These twenty-two books are, according to the Hebrews, as follows:—The book by us called Genesis, but by the Hebrews, after the beginning of the book, Breshith, which signifies “In the beginning.” Exodus, Velleshemoth, that is, “These are the names.” Leviticus, “Vikra,” “And he called out.” Numbers, “Hammishpekodim.” Deuteronomy, Ellehaddebarim, “These be the words.” Jesus the son of Nave, Jehosua Ben Nun, Judges, Ruth, with them in one book, Shopetim.¹ The First and Second of Kings, in one, Samuel, “The called of God.” The Third and Fourth of Kings, in one, Vainmelek David, that is, “And the King David.” The First and Second of Chronicles, in one, “Dibre hayamim,” that is, “Day-books.” The First and Second Esdras in one, Ezra,² that is, “The helper.” The Book of Psalms, “Sepher Thillim.” The Proverbs of Solomon, “Mishloth.” Ecclesiastes, “Koheleth.” The Song of Songs, “Shir Hashirim.” Isaiah, “Yesaiah.” Jeremiah, with the Lamentations and Epistles, in one Book, “Yirmeyah.” Daniel, “Daniel.” Ezekiel, “Yeze-kiel.” Job, “Yob.” Esther, “Esther.” Besides these,

¹ Trace thereof is to be found in the Masora finalis of a Spanish MS. (with Kennicott No. 3), where Ruth, from the beginning of the book, is called **ספר שפט הישפטים**. See Bruns, ad Kennicotti *Dissertat. General.* pp. 18, 19, note.

² Proofs to this purpose are to be found in the modern Hebrew MSS. Many still have the two books of Samuel, the two of Kings, the two of Chronicles, as well as Ezra and Nehemiah, written altogether, without intervening space. Hence all these books in the oldest editions, which followed with the closest accuracy the MSS., are printed together, till Daniel Bombev introduced the separation thereof, now become usual. See § 359.

there are also the Books of Maccabees, which are entitled “Sarbeth, sarbane El.”¹

SECTION 54.—*Elucidation of this Passage.*

In this catalogue of the canonical books of the Old Testament the twelve lesser Prophets are wanting. Baruch, on the contrary, has a place there. The first difficulty vanishes as soon as a comparison be made between Rufinus (his Latin translation) and Hilary's Prologue to the Psalms. The first has, in the quoted passage of Eusebius, the twelve lesser Prophets in the place after the Song of Songs; and the latter, who, according to an observation already made by Jerome, drew the materials of his Prologue to the Psalms for the most part out of the said passage, mentions the twelve lesser Prophets amongst the canonical writings of the Old Testament.² The other difficulty is not so easy to remove. Nowhere is there a trace of Jeremiah's Epistle ever having formed a part of the Jewish canon. Origen was mistaken, and perhaps had before him a MS. of the Seventy, in which, as usual, Baruch was placed immediately after Jeremiah, and was thereby led into his mistake.³

¹ According to Strotti's translation.

² Here is the remark of Valesius on this place : ‘Omissus est in hoc catalogo liber duodecim Prophetarum. Quo factum est, ut cum viginti duos libros se numeraturum promiserit Origenes, unus duntaxit et viginti reperiantur. In Rufini versione, recensetur hic liber statim post Canticum Canticorum. Nec aliter Hilarius in prologo enarrationis in Psalmos, et Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus. Cæterum sacræ scripturæ libri longe alio ordine hic recensentur quam ab Epiphanio et Hieronymo et Melitone, cuius locum supra retulit Eusebius in fine lib. iv. Hilarius vero, in prologo commentariorum in Psalmos, cum Origene prorsus consentit. Nec id mirum, cum totus fere prologus ille Hilarii translatus sit ex commentariis in Psalmos, ut testatur Hieronymus.’

³ This becomes more probable when the circumstance is mentioned that the Egyptian Christians, those great admirers of apocryphal writings, make Baruch follow the Lamentations. See below, § 310.

SECTION 55.—*Jerome (A.D. 422).*

Jerome reckons, according to the number of the consonants of the Hebrew alphabet, twenty-two books, and places them in his *Prologus Galeatus* in the following order, which is also followed by the *Bibliotheca Divina* :—

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1 to 5. Five Books of Moses. | 14. Job. |
| 6. Joshua. | 15. Psalms. |
| 7. Judges and Ruth. | 16. Proverbs. |
| 8. 2 Books of Samuel. | 17. Ecclesiastes. |
| 9. 2 Books of Kings. | 18. Song of Solomon. |
| 10. Isaiah. | 19. Daniel. |
| 11. Jeremiah's Prophecies
and Lamentations. | 20. 2 Books of Chronicles. |
| 12. Ezekiel. | 21. Ezra in 2 books, <i>i.e.</i> Ezra
and Nehemiah. |
| 13. 12 Lesser Prophets. | 22. Esther. |

‘Viginti et duas literas’ (he says in his *Prologus Galeatus*), ‘esse apud Hebræos, Syrorum quoque lingua et Chaldaeorum testatur, quæ hebrææ magna ex parte confinis est. Nam et ipsi viginti duo elementa habent, eodem sono et diversis characteribus. . . . Porro quinque literæ duplices apud Hebræos sunt, Caph, Mem, Nun, Pe, Sade. Unde et quinque a plerisque libri duplices existimantur, Samuel, Melachim, Dibre hayamim, Esdras, Jeremias cum Cinoth, id est Lamentationibus suis. Quomodo igitur viginti duo elementa sunt, per quæ scribimus hebraice omne quod loquimur, et eorum initiosis vox humana comprehenditur: ita viginti duo volumina supputantur, quibus quasi literis et exordiis in Dei doctrina, tenera adhuc et lactens viri justi eruditur infantia. Primus apud eos liber vocatur Beresith, quem nos Genesin dicimus. Secundus, Vialle Semoth. Tertius Vajicra, *i.e.* Leviticus. Quartus Vajedabber, quem Numeros vocamus. Quintus Elle-

haddebarim, qui Deuteronomium prænotatur. Hi sunt quinque libri Mosis : quos proprie Thora, id est Legem, appellant.

‘ Secundum Prophetarum ordinem faciunt et incipiunt ab Jesu filio Nabe, qui apud eos Josue ben Nun dicitur. Deinde subtexunt Sophetim, id est Judicum librum ; et in eundem compingunt Ruth, quia in diebus Judicum facta ejus narratur historia. Tertius sequitur Samuel, quem nos Regum primum et secundum dicimus. Quartus, Melachim, id est Regum, qui tertio et quarto Regum volumine continet. Meliusque multo est Melachim, id est Regum, quam Melachoth, id est Regnorum, dicere : non enim multarum gentium describit regna sed unius Israelitici populi, qui tribubus duodecim continetur. Quintus est Esaias. Sextus, Jeremias. Septimus, Ezechiel. Octavus, liber duodecim Prophetarum qui apud illos vocatur Thereasai.

‘ Tertius ordo Hagiographa possidet. Et primus liber incipit a Job. Secundus a David, quem quinque incisionibus et uno Psalmorum volumine comprehendunt. Tertius est Salomon, tres libros habens, Proverbia, quæ illi Misle, id est, Parabolas, appellant. Quartus Ecclesiastes, id est, Coheleth. Quintus Canticum Canticorum, quem titulo Sir hassirim prænotant. Sextus est Daniel. Septimus Dibre hajammim, id est, verba dierum, quod significantius Chronicon totius divinæ historiæ possumus appellare, qui liber apud nos Paralipomenon primus et secundus inscribitur. Octavus Esdras : qui et ipse similiter apud Græcos et Latinos in duos libros divisus est. Nonus Esther.

‘ Atque ita fiunt pariter Veteris Legis libri viginti duo, id est, Mosis quinque, et Prophetarum octo, Hagiographorum novem.

‘ Quamquam nonnulli Ruth et Cinoth inter Hagiographa scriptitent et hos libros in suo putent numero supputandos ac per hoc esse priscae Legis viginti quatuor. Hic prologus

scripturarum quasi galeatum principium omnibus libris, quos de Hebræo vertimus in Latinum, convenire potest : ut scire valeamus, quicquid extra hos esse, inter apocrypha ponendum est. Igitur Sapientia, quæ vulgo Salomonis inscribitur, et Jesu filii Sirach liber, et Judith et Tobias et Pastor non sunt in canone. *Machabæorum primum* librum hebraicum reperis, secundus græcus est, quod ex ipsa quoque phrasi probari potest.'

He divides, then, the entire collection into three parts, Law, Prophets, and Hagiographa, and reckons eight Prophets and nine Hagiographa ; and remarks also that some make twenty-four books, and in order to complete this number enumerate specially Ruth and the Lamentations ; and concludes with this observation, that all Jewish Scriptures beyond those named are to be placed amongst the Apocrypha.

SECTION 56.—*Talmud (Sec. II.-IV.).*

The Jews from mere whim shifted two Yods into their alphabet, in order to make out (in its favour also) the number of twenty-four consonants. Hence the Talmud reckons twenty-four canonical books, in the following order :¹ —

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1-5. Five Books of Moses. | 15. Psalms. |
| 6. Joshua. | 16. Job. |
| 7. Judges. | 17. Proverbs. |
| 8. 2 Books of Samuel. | 18. Ecclesiastes. |
| 9. 2 Books of Kings. | 19. Song of Songs. |
| 10. Jeremiah. | 20. Lamentations. |
| 11. Ezekiel. | 21. Daniel. |
| 12. Isaiah. | 22. Esther. |
| 13. 12 Lesser Prophets. | 23. Ezra (and Nehemiah). |
| 14. Ruth. | 24. Chronicles. |

¹ Buxtorfii *Tiberias*, cap. xi.

The chief passage is to be found in the treatise ‘Bava Bathra.’¹ After dividing the Biblical Scriptures into (1) כתובים (2) נבאים (3) תורת, and making many observations on them not here to the purpose, it names the books of each part separately and gives those of the two last parts in the following order: סדרן של נבאים יהושע—: ישופטים ובסלים ירמיה ויזקאל ישעה ושנים עשר . . . סירון של כחובם רות וספר תהילים ואיוב ומשלו קהلت Shir השירים וקינות דניאל וממלת אסתר עזרא ודברי הימים.

SECTION 57.—Result. *History declares all the Books of our Edition of the Hebrew Bible to be Canonical.*

From the information hitherto gathered, it appears to me indisputable that, at the time of Christ and the Apostles, the Jewish Canon, as far as extent is concerned, agreed with our present edition of the Bible. And if it be desired to show that, before then, in the space of time between the end of the Babylonian captivity and the birth of Christ, a smaller number of books was ever contained in it, the necessity would then arise of either denying the truth of the picture drawn by antiquity of the mode of thinking among the Jews with regard to their sacred books, or of affirming that never at any time was an intentional and in all its parts settled collection of their national writings prepared by the Jews. The first step would signify the contradiction to their faces, without the slightest reasons, of the most credible witnesses of antiquity, and the last a dispute against all evidence.

The Jews burned ever with holy reverence towards their national Scriptures. ‘With their birth,’ says Josephus, ‘was also born the belief to hold them for Divine teachings; they ventured not, he assures us, either to add to or take from them, or to change them, although

¹ *Bava Bathra*, fol. 13, 14, ed. Venet. 1548.

many thereof had already attained a very high antiquity' (sec. 40). Even amidst the greatest sufferings brought upon them by the unreasoning spirit of persecution, on account of their sacred books, their reverence towards them was not diminished.¹ How was it possible that a nation of this mode of thinking should place beside their sacred books such as were of inferior worth and estimation —provided that the point had been made evident and universally decided, *how many and what books* deserved the estimation of sacred?

And this was settled. As far as we can go back in their history, immediately where the Apocrypha connect again the broken thread of Hebrew literature, a sacred national library of the Hebrews is expressly spoken of, as if the separate parts of it were already accurately fixed. It appears then to have been established soon after the Babylonian captivity, or that out of the writings which with regard to contents, authors, and the time of their composition varied so much, an entire whole was formed with the object of hindering for the future any new writings from being added thereto (sec. 5), although from want of information we are not now able to state *in what year* and *for what reason* the increase of the collection was terminated.

In short, it is the voice of history, that after the Babylonian captivity, and, indeed, soon after the new foundation of the Hebrew state in Palestine, the canon was firmly fixed and all the books were at that time received into it which we now find in it. And yet have modern scholars attempted to prove that the canon of the Old Testament was not fixed till in very late times; that many books of the Old Testament now held by us as canonical had no place formerly in the canon, but were first raised to that dignity by Fathers of the Church and later Jews.

A favourite system was the cause of this. Speculations had been formed *in abstracto* as to the characteristics of a book of the Bible, and in the absence of all materials a building was constructed in the air. Now the adopted universal idea of the nature of a Bible-book was contradicted by innumerable manifestations. Without pulling down the old house itself and providing materials for a firmer structure, they built a castle in the air and rejected from the canon books which did not comply with their theory though already consecrated by time.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE TEXTS OF THE BOOKS OF THE
OLD TESTAMENT.SECTION 58.—*General Considerations.*

A COMPLETE history of the Hebrew text would enumerate, with reference to causes and consequences, all the essential and accidental changes, whether for good or evil, which it has undergone in the process of thousands of years and in its passage through men's hands, from the time of its first composition down to the latest periods; meanwhile both honesty and criticism combine to place on an immovable foundation and uncontestedly to demonstrate that, even amidst the imperfections of our present text, it becomes us nevertheless to reverence the exceeding wisdom of the Divine dispensation.

The essential variations—that is to say, those which affect the sense—have awakened the spirit of inquiry amongst men and led to discoveries. And the *accidental* changes are of evident use to us. Had the writings of Moses been always copied in their original character, they might perhaps have been illegible to posterity, according to the fate of so many important monuments of antiquity which have become ultimately quite lost. And had they even been preserved, they might have been for us perhaps but unmeaning hieroglyphics. As long as the Hebrew continued a living language, the sense of their sacred books might have been sufficiently clear by

the application of vowel-points to passages only of a double signification. What gratitude do we not owe to an all-directing Providence for the provision, that soon after the Hebrew became a dead language, it should be furnished with vowel-points throughout, whilst aids for this work still existed which at the present day are wanting.

The general preservation of our small Hebrew library is in itself a true miracle of Time. Who could expect from his hand to receive a work free from every defect? Let it suffice that, with defects beyond the reach of prevention, we have also inherited the means for their correction.

SECTION 59.—Sources of this History.

The whole matter would be clear beyond controversy were it possible to give a complete history of the Hebrew text from century to century. The sources thereto are extant, but they run shallow; they may possibly be only obstructed in part, and the streams hereafter may flow more copiously, provided human industry be first applied to the removal of impediments. I reckon for this purpose the old authors of versions, who have made use of the original text: Philo, Josephus, and the Church Fathers, and among them in particular Origen and Jerome; the Talmud and the Masora, manuscripts and Bible editions.

SECTION 60.—Arrangement of the Materials for this Purpose.

In the absence of previous researches I am only able to produce a kind of plastered framework of such a history. I must begin by premising a short description of the original external shape of the Bible-books of the Old Testament, after which the first outline of such a history shall follow.

FIRST PART.—ORIGINAL EXTERNAL FORM OF THE
SCRIPTURES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.SECTION 61.—*Review.*

None of all the books which now form the canon of the Old Testament could by possibility in its journey through time retain the external shape first bestowed upon it by its author. They have all of them not merely been compelled to complete the cycle of changes which human hands have wrought upon a Homer and the rest of the great series of classical writers—partly to the injury, partly to the advantage, of posterity, sometimes from mere chance, sometimes from necessity—but their original structure has subjected them to some further changes, quite peculiar to themselves. And if Moses were now to arise from the dead, he would with difficulty recognise himself in the company in which he is placed, and his writings in the materials used for writing and the consonants with their accompaniment of vowel-points and accents, and the divisions into separate words, verses, and chapters, as presented by manuscripts and editions.

SECTION 62.—1. *Collection.*

Many writings of the Old Testament did not acquire their present form till after the death of their authors (sec. 2). Probably before the Babylonian captivity there existed small collections of the books of the Old Testament (sec. 4), but our present complete collection took its origin from the times subsequent to that event (sec. 5–7).

SECTION 63.—2. *The Oldest Writing-materials.*

The historical inquirer and the critic are both indeed anxious to know the material upon which the authors of the Old Testament first wrote their books—the former in order to trace the progress of human art, the latter to be able to calculate the duration of autographs ; but owing to the great distance of time and the silence of history it cannot be stated with certainty.

Still a guess may be ventured about *linen* and the *skins of beasts*. For all other writing-materials besides these were either unknown to the old world, or of use only in other lands too remote from Palestine. And of the two mentioned *linen* seems the more probable. For though it be the work of already advanced art, still animal hides in a fit state for writing upon imply also artificial preparation. Now the art of giving raw skins the proper dressing for a writing-material was first acquired in the age of King Attalus; on the other hand the invention of linen-weaving was of a much earlier date. Wherefore also in Egypt in the oldest times linen was used as a material for writing upon, as appears from the mummy-bandages, which are covered all over with illegible characters. It was found also by Pliny (xiii. 11), in the old authors from whom he made extracts, that the use of *linen* for writing precedes the destruction of Troy.¹ And is it not probable that Moses, who was born and bred in Egypt, the native country of linen, and probably of the written records imprinted thereon, employed this convenient material in the composition of his five books ?

¹ A reviewer in the *Universal German Library*, Part 46, § 347, says, in noticing the above passage, ‘The reviewer believes certainly to have found traces of it in Homer, in the third generation before the Trojan war.’ Pity that the author of this is no longer alive and able through me to impart to my readers his remarks upon the subject.

And in this case, would not linen, after his example, have been used for subsequent writings, and indeed for all transactions in writing—linen which, moreover, at that time was prepared to superfluity? Finally, in Jeremiah xxxvi. 23, where a manuscript is burnt in the king's chamber, skin would not be a probable material, on account of the smell it would have occasioned in the fire.

From all these considerations it seems to me extremely probable that the Jews, like the Romans in the oldest times, were in possession of their *libros linteos*.

SECTION 64.—3. *Original Alphabet.*

The character used by Moses was, on the whole—allowance being made for the changes necessarily inflicted by time and human dealing in the course of a thousand years—the same alphabet employed in writing by all authors down to the time of the Babylonian captivity. Whether, however, Moses used the Chaldean square writing in which our Bibles are printed, or the old Samaritan alphabet with which we are acquainted on coins, is a question on which our antiquarians have not hitherto been able to agree.

Is the whole inquiry into the primitive alphabet of the Hebrew to be classed, as by some modern scholars, amongst the pseudo-important speculations of trifling pedants? Be it so! Only let it be considered what excuse should be offered to Biblical criticism in defence of such a dictum of authority. Does not this inquiry, then, belong to a history of the text of the Old Testament? Does not many a principle of criticism depend upon it? And allowing our ancestors to have conducted it with the most unlucky results, does it follow that their successors, with the new aids at their service,

must be equally unfortunate ? And supposing it should so turn out, should they have denied their fortune with the new aids even a chance ?

SECTION 65.—*The Ancient Hebrews employed the Phœnico-Egyptian Characters in Writing.*—1. *Proof from History.*

Jacob and his family brought probably with them no knowledge of the art of writing into the land of Goshen ; at least, in their history as few traces thereof appear as in that of their ancestors. Their nomadic mode of life enabled them also to dispense with it ; and their powers of memory, unimpaired from youth upwards by written accounts, must by constant exercise on various occasions have acquired such strength as fully to compensate for the absence of writing.

If the greater part of the Hebrew nation became acquainted with the art of writing before the Exodus (a circumstance which appears to me highly improbable), they must have acquired it under Egyptian tuition, and become necessarily accustomed to the Egyptian written character.

But, if the art of writing had been acquired by no single Hebrew previous to the departure from Egypt, still Moses, their great leader, was an adept therein, and he wrote certainly with no other than Egyptian characters, for he had received in the Court of Pharaoh an entirely Egyptian education. Now Moses was the father of all Hebrew authors, the *auctor classicus* of his nation ; he was the sacred source out of which all subsequent Hebrew writers drew their language, imagery, and conceptions : would they not have adhered also to the form of letters employed by him ?

Now the Egyptians, in the very earliest times, had adopted the Phœnician character, partly rediscovered by Count Caylus and Büttner on the half-illegible mummy-bandages: the Hebrew writers, then, used the Phœnico-Egyptian characters.¹

SECTION 66.—2. *Proof from Tradition, and (3) from Old Coins.*

Herewith also agrees the ancient tradition preserved by Jerome: ‘In antiquis Hebræorum litteris,’ says he on Ezekiel ix., ‘quibus usque hodie utuntur Samaritani’ (as the good Church Father imagined), ‘extrema Thau litera crucis habet similitudinem.’ This is evident in the Egyptian alphabet on mummy-bandages, in the Phœnician on coins, in the so-called ancient Samaritan on coins, and in the uncial writing of the Greeks brought by Cadmus with him into Greece—everywhere has the Thau retained its ancient cruciform figure.²

Finally, with the Phœnician-Egyptian alphabet the features of the writing used in the legends on the so-called

¹ Caylus, *Recueil d'Antiq. Egypt.* t. i. p. 65 f., t. v. p. 77. Büttner's *Tables of Comparison of the Kinds of Writing of various Nations in Past and Present Times*, vol. i., Goettingen, 1771, tab. ii. n. 2; only all the single consonants introduced into the comparison-tables are not, according to their significations, sufficiently developed, and hence also not so arranged as to leave no doubt about them. Compare Büttner's own confession, §§ 12, 13.

² Büttner's *Comparison Tables*, vol. i. tab. ii. n. 2, compare with n. 1, col. 2; further, *Explication de quelques medailles de peuples, de villes et de Rois Grecques et Phéniciennes*, par M. L. Dutens (à Londres, chez John Thane, 1773). In his third copper-plate Dutens has brought together those consonants which according to the unanimous opinion of scholars are held to be purely Phœnician. This plate has been copied in Michaelis's *Oriental and Exegetical Library*, Part viii. § 16. The most important work on Phœnician coins is that of Francis Percy Baget, *De nummis Hebræo-Samaritanis* (Valentiae Edetanorum, MDCCCLXXXI).

Samaritan coins are nearly allied. They are engraved certainly by Jews and not by Samaritans. For in the most part, on one side is found an urn with manna and the inscription 'שֶׁקֶל יִשְׂרָאֵל', 'a shekel of Israel'; on the other side is the almond-rod of Aaron, with the words, 'רוּשָׁלָם הַקָּדְשָׁה', 'Jerusalem the Holy City.' As to the rest, certainly all the extant specimens of these coins are not the work of fraud, busy about them as it may have been: doubtless many exist struck after the model of real ancient exemplars.¹ The genuine old coins, even if struck after the Babylonian captivity, may still afford evidence concerning the alphabet in use among the Hebrews before that event. For in the case of coins and inscriptions it was customary to employ the old character, although it may have been long superseded by a new style. Thus the Arabs used the Kufic letters on their coins long after the introduction among them of the Nes-chi.

For the reasons produced it appears to me of the highest probability that the Hebrew writers wrote with the letters of the Phoenico-Egyptian alphabet. If a desire still exist to call it the old Samaritan, because an acquaintance with a variety of it was first gained from the so-named Samaritan coins, the term will be at least used in a very improper sense, and occasion easily given, as experience already shows, to confound the old Samaritan

¹ The specimens of these coins found and described, together with the works which treat of them, have been tabulated by Everh. Dav. Hanber. See his information concerning the Jewish (generally called Samaritan) coins, and the works published respecting them, together with copper-plate representations. Copenhagen, 1778. 8. The genuineness of these coins has been disputed by Wagenseil, in *Soter*, p. 575. (See Carpzov, *Crit. S.* pp. 235, 236, and Basnage in the 'History of the Jews,' and Ol. Gerh. Tychsen in a small piece entitled *Concerning the Spuriousness of the Jewish Coins with Hebrew and Samaritan Letters*, Rostock, 1779. 8. Of the controversies concerning them in modern times there is an abstract in Eichorn's *Gen. Lib. of Bib. Lit.* Part vi 534-549.

writing on coins with the modern in the Jewish-Samaritan Pentateuch.

SECTION 67.—*Introduction of the Chaldean Square Character after the Babylonian Captivity.*

This Phœnician or Phœnico-Egyptian alphabet was the oldest form of letter-writing, and common to the entire East, in which the new Samaritan in the Hebræo-Samaritan Pentateuch, and the Chaldean square writing in our Bible-editions, lay as embryos, to be in time developed by the lapse of millennia and the work of men's hands. The changes suffered by single letters in the countries where this character was used, were so great that finally the original agreement of the alphabet in use in Palestine and Chaldea was scarcely discernible by the smallest traces.

When the best part of the Hebrew nation were compelled by Nebuchadnezzar to exchange their ancient abode on the Jordan for a new one on the Euphrates and the Chaboras (Habor?) an entire metamorphosis was undergone by the Jews. Mixed up and in perpetual intercourse with the native inhabitants of Chaldea and Assyria, they became accustomed to a new language and a new form of writing. Seventy years after, a great part returned indeed to the land of their ancestors; but a return to ancient manners, the old language and written characters was beyond imagination, and the national writings brought by the colonists with them back were for the multitude sealed hieroglyphics, to which but a few possessed the key—namely, an acquaintance with the ancient alphabet.

Soon after the planting of the new State in Palestine, the venerable remains of the Hebrew literary world before the Babylonian exile were collected; what more prudent

step could be then taken than to exchange the old and obsolete alphabet for the new one already in use? The old tradition in Jerome and the Talmud attributes this useful service to Ezra. ‘Certum est,’ says Jerome, in the Prologus Galeatus, ‘Esdram scribam legisque doctorem post captam Hierosolymam et instaurationem templi cum Zorobabele, alias litteras *reperisse*’ (so far as the man who introduces or brings something new into fashion is frequently termed its inventor) ‘quibus *nunc utimur*, cum ad illud usque tempus iidem Samaritanorum et Hebræorum characteres fuerint. Et tot litteris Pentateuchus a Samaritanis descriptus est quot Hebræus, quæ figuris tantum et apicibus differunt.’ Just so also speaks the Talmud, ‘Tract. Sanhedrim,’ sec. 2.

I consider this tradition so consonant with the situation of the Jews and all their external circumstances that according to my historical feeling I am unable so directly to reject it. The difficulties in the transcription of the Bible would not be greater than those encountered when the uncial letters of the Greek and Latin manuscripts were exchanged for the cursive character.¹

¹ To avoid mistakes, I repeat again expressly, that the square letters introduced after the Babylonian captivity are not to be considered as an entirely new kind of writing, quite different from the ancient, but only as a variety thereof; that our present Chaldean square letters must have been different in many points from those in the time of Ezra, and approached very closely the old writing in use before the Babylonian captivity (and also our present Samaritan in many of the consonants). On the stay of the Jews in the land of their conquerors their old writing became either adulterated with that variety of a common mother they had made acquaintance with in their exile, or the Jews adopted altogether the style in use in Chaldea; in both cases the Hebrew writing became extremely vacillating and uncertain. Ezra put an end to this uncertainty in the form of writing, or use of a double though allied alphabet, the Chaldean or the Hebrew mixed with it; introduced, on the founding of the new national library, a fixed form of writing, out of which, in the course of centuries (for under human

'But Josephus and Philo are silent upon the matter.' As if they were under a necessity of speaking upon it! They are silent also upon the collection of the writings of the Old Testament after the Babylonian captivity; and yet it will be denied by no one that such collection was made soon after the occurrence of that event. Finally, at the bottom of such traditions a real fact usually exists, even should it not answer in detail to the strictest historical truth.

'But did not Ezra act unwisely in rendering at once all previous manuscripts useless?' As if the Old Testament before had been so often transcribed! The Books of Moses, perhaps also some few besides, may have been extant in numerous copies; but were there numerous copies also of a complete collection of all the books written before the captivity? Finally, the books composed during and after the Babylonian captivity were, in all probability, written

agency, which is always altering, improving, and destroying, no alphabet can remain the same) the square alphabet of our Hebrew writing was formed. Ezra then fixed the writing in which thenceforth the holy books were to be copied; this appears from the above reasons extremely probable; but whether the character of their conquerors adopted by the Jews in their captivity, or a corrupt style from the mixture of two allied descriptions of writing, the old Hebrew and Babylonian, was the cause moving him thereto, must be left to the judgment of every one. In either case, however, the undertaking of Ezra was most valuable. Still it was not in the power of Ezra to prevent all future changes in the alphabet; more especially does it appear liable to mutations as long as it was the common character used on all occasions of business in every-day life before the formation of a more appropriate running-hand out of it. Whether, however, the changes were great or small which affected the separate consonants up to that time, cannot be determined; but with great certainty it may be assumed that since the Talmud and Jerome the features of our square writing have remained essentially unaltered, for isolated trifles, hookings together, and embellishments, which leave the shapes of the consonants but little changed, cannot here come under consideration.

in the Chaldean square character, which was familiar to their authors. From this consideration does not the adopted transcription of the Old Testament become probable? ¹

SECTION 68.—4. *Vowel-points.*

The Phoenico-Egyptian character had vowel-marks, as may be seen from Büttner's 'Tables of Comparison.' The Hebrew authors may at that time then have provided their writings with vowels.

But it was no necessary matter. In like manner as the Arabs in the first centuries after Mahomet wrote their Koran entirely without vowels, and yet read and understood it,² and as the Persians in our own times read fluently their books without vowel-points,³ just so might a born Jew, by virtue of his language being still a living one, have understood without much difficulty his ancient national books, even if written without points.

¹ Respecting the controversy concerning the primitive alphabet of the O. T. as far as it has hitherto been carried on, sufficient information may be obtained from the following works:—For the age of the square alphabet Jo. Buxtorf. *Dissert. iv. philologico-theologicæ*; Steph. Morinus *De Lingua Primæva*, Part ii. c. 4, p. 187; Wolfi *Biblioth. Hebr.* t. ii. p. 419. Their arguments are in part wretched. 1. Matt. v. 17, 18. 2. The (counterfeit) Jewish coins with Chaldean inscriptions. 3. The (fictitious) epitaphs of Abraham, Isaac, and other patriarchs. 4. The variations of the Hebrew-Samaritan Pentateuch from the Hebrew-Jewish, which should occur most frequently where in the Chaldean alphabet the consonants are very nearly allied in figure. For the age of the old Samaritan alphabet the authorities have been completely collected by Walton, *Proleg. ad Polygl.* (Londin.). Many of these are also wretched, as for instance, that from Daniel i. 4. The latest work which has reduced the reasonings of both parties into a satisfactory abridgment is that of Joseph Dobrowsky, *De Antiquis Hebræorum Characteribus Dissertatio, in qua speciatim Origenis Hieronymique fides Josephi Flavi testimonio defenditur* (Pragæ, 1783. 8). The author is an advocate for the high antiquity of the Samaritan letters.

² Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orient.* p. 87; Sale, *Proleg. in Coran.*

³ Chardin, *Voyage en Perse*, t. iii. p. 148.

But it is not at all probable that the authors of the writings of the Old Testament supplied them with vowel-points throughout; for, 1. The old translators altogether, the Seventy interpreters, Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, Jerome, the Syrian, Chaldean, Arabian, in translating from the Hebrew, vary, in all the books of the Old Testament, in endless passages, not merely from our present punctuation, but also amongst themselves from one another in pointing single words. Is it probable that not one of them all could obtain a pointed manuscript, or might have possessed one accidentally, even allowing that pointed codices at their time were extremely rare? Is it not rather much more to be inferred that at that time not a single manuscript existed supplied throughout with vowels? The Chaldean paraphrase, however, agrees in the punctuation of single words, much oftener than all the other ancient versions, with our pointed Masoretic text—sometimes fortunately, sometimes otherwise (that is, even where the most modest and considerate critic must reject the punctuation)—but not because its authors had manuscripts provided with vowels before them (for even they endlessly vary from our points), but because subsequent punctuators availed themselves of their labour as a commentary, or because they had before them the sense of the Old Testament according to their church version, as our expositors in their labours had often Luther's translation, since they from their youth upwards had been accustomed to that as we to this.

2. Origen or whoever was the author of the Hebrew text printed in Greek characters, adopted by every critic, in the Hexapla, was not in possession of a thoroughly pointed manuscript, and hence wrote the Hebrew words after a very fluctuating pronunciation and differing from our present pointing. Let a comparison anywhere in

Montfaucon's Hexapla be made—for instance, Hos. xi. 1, χι νερ Ἰσραὴλ οὐεαβηον οὐ μεμμεσραιμ καραθι βανι, where בֵּן is given as the expression instead of בְּנֵי and אַתָּה instead of אַתֶּה.

3. Jerome expresses himself in such a manner of his Hebrew MS. that it could not possibly have been pointed throughout: sometimes he finds both the pronunciation and the sense of words unfixed for the want of vowels, but soon after everything is plain by their presence. Thus he speaks of Habak. iii. 5: ‘Pro eo quod nos transtulimus mortem, in Hebræo tres litteræ sunt positæ, absque ulla vocali; quæ si legantur *dabar*, verbum significant, si *deber*, pestem.’¹ On the other hand, 1 B. Moses xlvii. 33, his manuscript decided by certain points, מִטְהָ (bed), is to be read and not מִטְהָ (sceptre). ‘Hoc loco,’ he says, ‘quidam frustra simulant, adorasse Jacob summitatem *sceptri* Joseph, quod videlicet honorans filium potestatem ejus adoraverit, cum in *Hebræo* multum *aliter* legatur, “et adoravit Israel ad caput *lectuli*.”’ Compare ‘Quæstiones in Genes.’ xxvi. 12.

4. Also the Talmud in its disputes respecting single passages of the Old Testament sometimes supposes pointed words and elsewhere unpointed. When the Talmudists contend whether Moses 2 B. xxi. 8, is to be read בְּבִנְדוֹ or בְּבִנְדוֹ בְּהָ or שְׁבָעִים² or שְׁבָעִים בְּהָ³ or Moses 3 B. xii. 5, or בְּהָ

¹ Compare Jerome *ad Jerem.* ix. 22; *Ep. ad Evagr.* 126; *Quæstion. in Genes.* xxxvi. 24, &c. Concerning the vowels in Jerome's Hebrew MS. see *Repertorium for Bib. and Eastern Lit.* Part ii. § 270: and on the other hand Ol. Gerh. Tychsen, *Recollections*, in the same, Part iii. § 127 f.

² *Tract. Kidush.* c. 1, fol. 18, a, b.

³ *Tract. Sanhedrim*, c. 1, fol. 4, p. 1. See also Ol. Gerh. Tychsen respecting the age of the Hebrew points in the *Repertorium for Bib. and Eastern Lit.* Part iii. § 105 ff. Of his learned remarks I can quote many for my opinion, although different from his.

the notice of these different pronunciations, since both times the same consonants appear, presupposes certain signs by which the variation of the utterance is decided. But on the other side had thoroughly pointed manuscripts existed in the times of the Talmudical doctors, they would not have differed respecting the pronunciation of so many single words; appeals would have been made to manuscripts and the disputes decided by them, or a contest would have arisen respecting the value of manuscripts which pointed the same passage in various ways. But on these occasions manuscripts are not at all mentioned; it is recorded, however, that Joab finished the strife with his teacher as to whether 5 B. Moses xxv. 19, זְבָר or זְבַר was the right reading in the same manner as Alexander solved the possibility of loosing the Gordian knot by the sword.

Finally, the treatise ‘Sopherim’ is quite silent about points. Why, then, did it order the transcriber of the Thora not to leave his copy without points?

SECTION 69.—*Probably Vowel-points were used by the Authors here and there.*

The result of these remarks is that, down to the fifth century after the birth of Christ, there are many appearances which contradict the idea of a complete punctuation of all words in the Bible. Still in Jerome and the Talmud traces enough of vowel-points and isolated pointed words and passages occur. In order to reconcile these contradictory appearances, it will be necessary to admit that originally vowel-points were applied only here and there to single words and sentences by the authors themselves, or at least in early times by the readers of their writings.

1. It was useful here and there, by means of vowel-

marks, to fix sense and pronunciation. Still, however, in most cases, a native Jew was just as able to read without difficulty an unpointed book as an ancient Arab or a modern Persian (sec. 68). But still ambiguous passages occurred, where there was danger of missing the sense of the author, as 1 B. Moses xi. 3, הַחֲמֵר הִיא לְהָם, or 4 B. Moses xii. 6, מְرָאָה. The application of a few vowel-points in such cases, while the Hebrew was a living language, would prevent all mistakes.¹ And after it became a dead language, all future misunderstandings which might now have arisen in a book composed of consonants without vowel-marks, were prevented by an all-wise Providence, which raised up grammarians to provide, guided by their mother-tongue, words with vowel-points.

2. It was agreeable to analogy. In the Arabic and Syrian manuscripts the sense of ambiguous passages is here and there fixed by the application of vowel-points, which probably originate with the authors.

3. It was possible. For it is a groundless opinion that in the invention of the most ancient Oriental alphabets no provision was made for vowels.² Syllable-writing accord-

¹ Without the supposition of certain marks in many places, the origin of the selected punctuation is inexplicable. Job xxxi. 36, עֲנָרוֹת is in the plural, when the connection rather requires עֲנָרָה; and Zech. vi. 11, the removal of the plural עֲנָרוֹת is still more desirable, and yet the LXX must have found a mark which decided for the plural, since they translate στεφανους. In other places our vowels are placed with such propriety, as to lead the mind unconsciously to foreign aid from the hand of the author. For instance, 1 Samuel ii. 20 עַרְעַ ; 2 B. Moses xxxi. עַנְוָרָת, &c.

² Herder, in the *Spirit of Hebr. Poesy*, Part i. § 28, says very strikingly: ‘Who would write letters without aspiration, which animates them? since upon the last everything depends, and it in reality is easier to denote in a general way than the various sounds of the organs.

ing to the progress of human inventions, as described by history, must have preceded letter-writing. And then also in all the kinds of Oriental writing with which we have a nearerer acquaintance, three vowel-marks are to be seen.

I. The Phœnico-Egyptian alphabet on the mummy-bandages is supplied with vowel-points, and in my opinion indeed with three (Büttner's 'Tables of Comparison,' tab. ii. n. 2, compare sec. 13).

II. Just so with the Syrian alphabet. (a) The Sabæo-Syrian syllable-character, used by the Nabatæans (Christians of St. John, Mendai Ijai), has three consonants united with vowels (Büttner's 'Tables of Comparison,' tab. i. n. 3).

(b) The Syrian alphabet, in which the manuscript of the Syrian Bible-version was written, used by Ephraim the Syrian in the fourth century, had also vowel-points by which the expression and sense of such words were distinguished as in point of consonants only were the same. 'Sciendum est,' he writes on 1 Book Moses xxxvi. 24, 'quod in utroque hoc usque testamento semper ՚^{חֶמְרֵה} (Chemre) invenerimus, non autem ՚^{חַמְרֵה} (Chmore), ut putant aliqui ex inscritia.'¹ Now it is evident from this passage that the Syrian alphabet both before and in the time of Ephraim had vowel-points, but not how many. But from the history of the Syrian alphabet it becomes extremely probable that three only were capable of application. For after the sixth century, when a Syrian Cadmus, Mar Amer, penetrated into Arabia, the Syrians were then unable to communicate to their scholars in the art of writing, the Arabians, more than three vowel-

If the more difficult were once accomplished, the easier task, upon which, too, the whole object of the labour rested, would not be left uncompleted.'

¹ Ephræm Syri Opp. t. i. p. 184. In *Catena*.

marks, for the Cufic character possessed at that time no more.¹

Nay, in the year of Christ 770 they possessed not so many vowel-points as the Greeks had vowels. For when at that time the Maronite Jacob of Edessa wished to translate Homer into the Syrian, he found himself deficient in vowel-marks to express with sufficient accuracy in Syrian letters the Greek *nomina propria*. He was therefore compelled to place the Greek vowels over the Syrian consonants.²

Now the Syrians before Ephraim probably used the writing in which the Palmyrenean inscriptions are composed, which in part at least took their origin in the first centuries after the birth of Christ. This writing is purely Hebrew, and nearly allied with our square alphabet.³ Our square character, then, in which subsequent to the Babylonian captivity the books of the Old Testament were written, must have been in like manner supplied with three vowel-marks. On the Palmyrenean inscriptions, however, no vowel-marks are visible; and on coins and stone inscriptions such trifles, which are difficult to introduce, are generally entirely omitted.

Or, if it be preferred to make the Syrians before Ephraim use rather the Estranghelo, this latter, for the above reason, was in possession of three vowel-points. Now the Estranghelo bears so strong a resemblance to the features of the Palmyrenean character that one must necessarily be derived from the other; and my inference, drawn from the structure of the square character intro-

¹ Adler, *Descriptio Codicum quorundam Cuficorum*, p. 30; compare the second plate annexed to this treatise.

² Abulfuragii *Historia Dynastarum*, p. 40, c. 228; Assemani *Biblioth. Orient.* t. i. pp. 64, 521.

³ Büttner's *Tables of Comp.* tab. i. n. 1, col. 1.

duced after the Babylonian captivity, remains immovably established.¹

III. Even the punctuation now in use proceeds on the supposition of three vowel-marks. 1. The Sheva is only joined with A, E, and O (which may be compared with the three vowel-points of the Arabs—Fatha, Kesre, and Dhamma); why not with more, why not also with Khirik and Kibbúts, if our present numerous points were already in use in very ancient times? 2. The forms of the verbs proceed upon three chief forms in combination with three vowels יְלָאֵב קְטַל as in the Arabic. With the nouns, however, the reference to their principal forms is far more difficult and entangled; but where there is still a possibility of coming at the basis, three chief-forms with A, E, and O, are visible, as with the *nominibus sægolatis* פְּקַד, פְּקַד, and פְּקַד, and which is again the case in the Arabic. 3. The arbitrary change of vowels—that is, that which is not occasioned by any consonant producing anomalies, nor by any other cause which can be assigned out of the other

¹ Schultens, in order to confirm the previous theory of the gradual origin of our present numerous vowel-points, cites from the book *Cosri* ‘that originally only three vowel-points could have existed, since in the seventh century they had been converted into three classes of vowels, into which the seven vowels of the Greeks had been inserted:

$$\begin{array}{ll} \text{1. Komats} = o & \text{2. Patachs} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{4. Patach} = \alpha \\ \text{5. Segol} = \epsilon \end{array} \right. \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{2. Cholem} = \omega \\ \text{3. Shurek} = v \end{array} \right. & \\ \text{3. Sheba} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{6. Khirek} = \iota \\ \text{7. Tsere} = \eta \end{array} \right. & \end{array}$$

² See Schultens' *Institut. L. H.* p. 48. After him this remark was used by Joh. David Michaelis in the *Observationes de Syrorum Vocalibus ex Ephræmo* (in the *Commentationes in Societ. Reg. Scient. Götting. per annos 1755–1762 prælectæ*, Bremæ, 1784, § 167 ff.). But after what has been advanced against it by Dresde (in the preface to the *Elementa Sermonis Hebr.*), and Trendelenburg (in the *Repertorium of Bibl. and Eastern Lit.* Part xviii. n. 2), this argument must be given up.

Oriental languages—appears to bring back our present numerous vowel-points to three chief ones, and to declare the rest for signs only of the finer graduations of the principal sound. At pleasure are made to reciprocate with one another ئ, ئ, and ئ؛ also ئ, ئ, and ئ؛ and finally ئ, ئ, ئ, and ئ Khatúph,¹ out of which three vowel-classes arise: 1, to class A, which agrees with the Fatha of the Arabians, belong Kaméts, Pathakh, and Segól; 2, to class E, the Kesre of the Arabs, Khirik, and Segól; 3, to class O, the Dhamma of the Arabs, belong Shurék, Kaméts-Khatúph, and Kibbúts; 4, and this entire representation is perhaps confirmed by the division into simple and composite vowels, made by the Jewish grammarians. This, perhaps, became usual after not merely the principal but the inferior tones also were provided with signs, and was transmitted to the later Rabbins by oral tradition. According to Ebn Ezra, Kholem, Khirik, and Pathakh are simple vowels; the rest, the composite, arose out of these by the combinations of many points and strokes. If then in the oldest times, the most simple of our present vowel-marks of each class served for all kinds of tones, a point over the word indicated doubtless the class O, a point under the word the class E, and a fine stroke under the word the class A, according to a simplicity observed also by the Cufic and present Arabian alphabet with regard to the signs and situations of vowels. Is not the entire East in favour of this representation? ²

¹ We say at pleasure רישׁ גיר and גר, הקטל and הקטל, לירא and לירא, מושלות and מושלות, ירכם and ירכם, בן and בן, הוקם and הוקם, השכבות and השכבות, צוריהם and צוריהם, יקום and יקום, תשלים and תשלים, &c.

² What, suitably to my purpose, I could only here touch upon, has been clearly and fully demonstrated by Von Trendelenburg in the

SECTION 70.—*Result of the Previous Inquiry.*

From the foregoing observations we may conclude to a certainty in my opinion that the ancient Hebrews possessed vowel-points, but not the entire number now in use, in all probability only three; that the old Hebrew authors may have supplied their books with vowels indeed, but not throughout; and that our present system of punctuation arose late, probably not till the Hebrew had become a dead language. Until that event sufficient care to secure the sense of a word and the true pronunciation of a word would have been taken, if in general the chief sound intended to be heard in any syllable were indicated by a point, and the task left to the living language to mark the finer graduation of tone, each time meant to be joined with the general vowel-point. But when the Hebrew began to be a dead language, or had become already such, it was difficult to hit always the right sound of the general vowel-mark, and assign to each word its due fineness of intonation; and it became a necessity to separate the various possible sounds belonging to each vowel-point, and to attach, as far as possible, to each shade of the same some peculiar mark. But because, either (through the complete death of the

Repertory for Bibl. and Eastern Literature, Part xviii. § 78 ff. Generally speaking, the high antiquity of our artificial system of punctuation, just on account of its very subtilisation, would have been long ago brought into doubt had the examination been less in the hands of mere closet-students, for whom nothing can be too fine drawn, and who, from mere self-deception, imagined that all sounds are capable of being expressed in writing, or used to be so expressed. Who has ever yet invented signs for every vowel of every dialect of our tongue, and who uses them? They ought besides to be only general signs. Every one modifies the sounds they indicate according to his organs; and was, in fact, the pronunciation of the Hebrews so finely regulated as we fancy? Perhaps it was just as lawless as the old German language according to Ditfried.

Hebrew language now already accomplished) it was no longer possible in every case to give the exact tone of the vowel formerly heard, or because the ear of the Jews who commenced our system of punctuation was by the influence of other dialects already too much untuned; or because, frequently even in the life of the Hebrew language, in certain syllables certain allied vowel-tones reciprocated with each other; or because it was not possible accurately to express in writing the delicacies of every shade, in the carrying out of the punctuation, in the same word in different places, vowels of the same class were at pleasure exchanged with one another. This was the true cause of that arbitrary change of vowels, which now encumbers with such difficulty an accurate acquisition of the Hebrew language, and forms the great difference between the Hebrew and other Oriental dialects.

HISTORY OF THE CONTROVERSY RESPECTING THE AGE OF OUR HEBREW VOWEL-POINTS.

Jacob Percy de Valencia in his commentary on the Psalms first denied the so-called divine authority of our present punctuation. Elias Levita next to him has expressed the same opinion; therefore Deyling might have spared his congratulations to all Christendom, that no Christian but a Jewish head (Elias Levita as he supposed) hatched the fancy of the recent origin of our present usual punctuation. Since that time the question of its antiquity has become a ball for the amusement of philosophical polemics. The contest assumed its liveliest phase between the two Buxtorfs, father and son, and Cappellus. Buxtorf, the father, brought forward his system in the ‘Tiberias’ (cap. viii. p. 880 ff.), in reply to which Cappellus wrote his ‘Arcanum Punctuationis Revelatum,’ which Buxtorf, the

son, answered in the ‘Tractatus de Punctorum Origine, Antiquitate,’ &c. This last work was rejoined to by Cappellus in the ‘Vindiciae Arcani Punctat. Revel.,’ printed together with his first work in Cappelli ‘Commentarii et Not. Critic.’ (Amstel. 1689, fol.). Since that time sides only have been taken in this matter—some scholars have adhered to Buxtorf, others to Cappellus. Buxtorf’s proofs for the high antiquity of our punctuation were: 1, without vowel-points the sense of the Old Testament would be uncertain; 2, Matthew v. 18, by the words *μια κερατα* vowel-points must be understood; 3, some passages out of the Book Zohar and the Talmud. Cappellus, on the other side, and his followers refer: 1, to the old Samaritan alphabet on coins, which is without vowel-points; 2, to the unpointed manuscripts, and particularly the unpointed Thora; 3, to the old Bible translators; 4, to Origen and Jerome, who knew as little about pointed manuscripts as, 5, the Talmud and the Corpus Cabbalisticum. (See Tychsen concerning the age of the Hebrew vowels, in the ‘Repertorium for Bib. and Eastern Literature,’ pt. iii. sec. 102 ff.)

In modern times, as far as I am aware, Schultens first brought anything fresh to bear on the subject. He takes, according to the analogy of the other Eastern alphabets, some vowel-marks as primitive and used by Hebrew authors; only he nowhere supports his opinion at large (Schultens’ ‘Institut. Ling. Hebr.’ præf. 3, pp. 48-62 ff.). Since his time Joh. Dav. Michaelis has published his unsatisfactory grounds for the high antiquity of our present punctuation in the second part of his miscellaneous writings. In order to test the satisfactory grounds adduced by me, compare besides the above-named works Dupuy, ‘Dissertation philologique et critique sur les voyelles de la langue hébraïque,’ in the ‘Histoire de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres,’ &c., t. 36 (Par. 1775, 4);

Matth. Norberg, 'Dissert. de Hebraeorum Vocalibus' (Lund. 1784, 4); Trendelenburg, Treatise in the 'Repert. for Bibl. and Eastern Lit.' pt. xviii. n. 2.

SECTION 71.—5. *Accents.*

If the present series of vowels did not exist in the oldest times, the whole entangled train of diacritical points, together with the fixing of the accents connected with them, falls to the ground.

Our accents, according to their present number and application, cannot possibly be contemporary with the writers of the Old Testament. Now they serve to show the syllable of emphasis and the relation of one word to another. Is it possible that a language in its life-time can require such crutches to keep up its accent, especially since, as experience teaches, the pronunciation can never be marked with sufficient accuracy by signs, and is acquired most easily and exactly by the ear? Is it possible that such signs for accentuation could ever be in use amongst a people the major part of whom were never learned, and of whom very few possessed the ability of reading written characters, when language, whilst spoken, was never elaborated by grammarians? Finally, can the Hebrews have fixed the accentuation in so uniform a mode and exactly in that prescribed by the accents?

And first the *quantitas relativa*, indicated by the accents; would any people encumber its living language with such wretched fancies? Is it not absurd to suppose that every author should cut up his text into verses, and then subsequently accent it? Theories of this kind come forth the indelibly-stamped painful progeny of indolent grammarians! Finally, with our present accentuation what is taken for granted? Separate position of

each word, and division into verses—all of which is later than the origin of the Hebrew Writings (sec. 73-77); can, then, the high age of our order of accents be compatible with this?

Still, if not all at present in use, yet the greatest part of our accent-forms must have been introduced into some at least, if not into all, the books of the Old Testament by the ancients. Without this supposition I should be quite at a loss to explain the singular idea of marking by means of signs the relation either near or remote in which a word should stand connected with its next neighbour. Certain signs being already in existence whose true original application nobody was any longer acquainted with, Jewish heads may be imagined to have played with them a long time in good Rabbinical wise; a Rabbi of eminence then arose, who out of the separate recreations formed a systematic whole: thus the origin of so singular an invention may be more easily realised.

Now the Hebrews had attained a certain proficiency in music. David and Solomon maintained regular choirs. Here nothing was to be done without musical notes. It is therefore a very probable tradition that our accent-figures were placed as notes under their songs by the poets (who in the old world were always at the same time their own composers), in order to regulate the course of singing and of the accompanying instruments.

But in that case accents could only be expected in songs and metrical books; in prose works, on the contrary, they would be absent. Not till later, at a time when the old destination of notes was long forgotten, it was thought necessary to apply them to prose books. Since in the East even now prose is oftener sung than read, how intelligible is the conception of applying these notes to prose books also, and to fix the *quantitatem relativam*, as well with regard to

modulation as the explanation and permanence of the sense. The prose books, however, contain longer periods; therefore the invention of new accent forms and a new prosaical accentuation, differing from the metrical, could not be dispensed with.¹

However new our present accentuation may be, it still follows in many places primitive divisions, and explanations grounded thereupon, which must have been preserved by tradition. Without this supposition at least no explanation can be imagined why many ancient translators agree with our accents as to divisions whose incorrectness is evident on the slightest inspection. Thus we find Aquila carried on, according to our accents, Psalm x. 15, וְנַעֲשֶׂה אַחֲרֵינוּ וְנִמְצָא 'vainly does he inquire into his impiety' (וְנִמְצָא רְשָׁוֹת) 'that it may not be found.'² In the fragment of the oldest manuscript of the LXX (perhaps the oldest in the world) in the Cottonian Library are found characters for distinction which are applied quite conformably to the Hebrew accents—1 Book Moses xxxv. 10:—*Kai εἰπεν αὐτῷ ὅτι το ὄνομα σου Ἰακωβ, οὐ κληθῆσεται ἐπὶ Ἰακωβ ἀλλα Ἰσραὴλ*; and in the Hebrew it stands יְהֹוָה שְׁמָךְ. 1 Book Moses xlviii. 6, Grabe marks σοι ἐσονται 'cum signo distinctionis' (לְךָ יְהֹוָה) as in the Hebrew, since in the printed Greek the break is put after ἀδελφῶν αὐτῶν.³

¹ Jablonski, *Præf. ad Bibl. Hebr.* § 22 f.; Christian Bened. Michaelis, *Dissertatio qua Ritualia Sacra ex Corano illustrantur*, § 15; Chardin, *Voyage en Perse*, t. i p. 127. The meaning of *accentus* with Jerome, see in the *Repertorium for Bibl. and Eastern Lit.* Part ii. § 281 f.; Part iii. § 141 f.

² *Repert. for Bib. and Eastern Lit.* Part xiii. § 185.

³ *Repert. for Bib. and Oriental Lit.* Part xiv. § 35.

SECTION 72.—6. *Diacritical Points.*

With the vowel-points and accents the other diacritical points sink down to a lower age. I find in Jerome little trace of the distinctive point of Shin from Sin, or of the Dagesh strong and low, and Mappik and Raphé; I find many more passages which render their presence in his manuscript improbable. (See below, sec. 125.)

SECTION 73.—7. *The Hebrews wrote Word to Word.*

Greeks and Romans in the oldest times wrote word to word, letter to letter, without leaving a small space between single words. Grammarians first introduced separation of words into the manuscripts of those authors which they used as school books. This arrangement characterised also the sacred Books of the Hebrews, and if an empty space was anywhere left, it was only at the commencement of the principal sections. 1. For otherwise what explanation can be adduced why the oldest translators, not merely here and there (for in that case they might have done it for the sake of the sense), but in every book in numberless places, differ in their word-divisions? that they express in their versions sometimes a more suitable separation of words and more adapted also to the author, and sometimes one less convenient than that of the Masoretical edition? Here follow some examples out of the many which I could cite. Hos. vi. 5 requires, according to the LXX, the Syrian, and the Chaldean, to be divided בְּאֹר יָצָא, מִשְׁפַּט, and Jeremiah xxiii. 33, with the LXX and Vulgate, אֶת־מִתְּפִשֵּׂא instead of אֶת־מִתְּפִשָּׂא as it is printed. 1 Chron. xvii. 10, Hebr. וְאֶגְדָּה לְךָ, the LXX καὶ αὐξησω σε, וְאֶגְדָּה לְךָ. Proverbs ii. 7, Hebr., Vulg., Chald., Syr., the LXX, on the contrary, as one word, תְּמִלְחָמָה לְהַלְכָּה; compare Nahum ii. 6, Ps. lxviii. 25. Ps. cvi. 7, עלִים the Hebrew, with all ancient texts, except the

LXX, who pronounced עַלְיִם. Hos. xi. 2, Hebr. with all ancient texts except the LXX, מִפְנֵיכֶם ; the LXX in two words, מִפְנֵי הֵם. Zeph. iii. 19, Hebr. אֲזַדְכָלְקָעַנִיךְ ; LXX on the contrary אֲזַהְכָלְקָעַנִיךְ לְקָעַנִיךְ אֲזַהְכָלְקָעַנִיךְ σοι εὐεκεν σου. Cappellus, 'Crit. Sac.' lib. iv., has collected more examples out of the LXX.

Only the Chaldean versions harmonise, in most instances, with our Masoretical division of words—sometimes because here and there divided words were already found by them (sec. 76) ; sometimes because in the division of words, as well as in the punctuation (sec. 68, 1), they have been followed ; sometimes because since their time the division of words introduced by the Masorites has been altered.

With this view I will excerpt merely one page of the Bible. Ps. xlvi. 6, the final words of the two following verses, ver. 12 and ver. 5 of Ps. xlvi. show that some manuscripts, the LXX, Vulgate, the Arabian, and Ethiopian, conclude the verse more properly with פָנִי וְאַלְהִי, than the printed text, with the Chaldean, Aquila, and Symmachus. Ps. xlvi. 2, Hebr., Syrian, and Chaldean אֱלֹהִים מְשֻׁרָה ; the LXX on the contrary, together with Jerome, the Vulgate, and the Arabian, אֱלֹהִים עַזִּים. Ps. xlvi. 5, the printed text and the Chaldean צִוָּה אֱלֹהִים צִוָּה ; LXX, on the contrary (Vulgate, Arabian, and Ethiopian), and the Syrian divide more correctly, according to the parallelism, אֱלֹהִים מְצֻבָה.

2. Should not, then, the traditional saying of the Jews be allowed to testify to this original shape of the sacred books of the Hebrews, that 'formerly the whole Law was merely one word,' or, according to another, one verse only?¹ a saying which becomes so much more

¹ Elias Levita, *Massoreth Hammassoreth*, præf. iii. ; R. Mose Ben Nachman, *Proem. Commentat. in Legem* ; Hassenkamp's reasons against Kennicott's remarks upon 1 Sam. vi. 19, § 68. No wonder, then, that even the Masorites do not everywhere agree in the division of words, as Job xxxviii. 12 and other places. New divisions of words are there-

probable, since on the Samaritan and Phœnician coins and Palmyrenean stone-inscriptions letter is linked on to letter.

3. Nay, the ancient usage amongst the Jews of writing a certain fixed number of consonants in each line, and of suffering none to contain either more or less than the rest, would not admit of this division of the words. If a series of short words had come to stand in one line, the room necessary for the separation of one word from another would have occupied so much space that the introduction of the fixed number of consonants would have been impossible.¹

4. Finally is it probable that amongst the ancient nations, who all of them ranged letter on to letter, the Hebrews should form an exception?²

SECTION 74.—*Whether the Final Consonants may not be Considered Word-parters.*

‘But perhaps the known “final figures” were employed to mark the end of single words. Were they in use as word-dividers with the Hebrews—to what purpose then a space between single words? The final letter pointed out to the reader how and where he should make his division.’ But

1. Are the ‘final figures’ contemporary with the oldest Hebrew authors? The Talmud³ and Jerome⁴ are acquainted fore a very happy means of clearing up unintelligible passages, and of restoring the proportion of the members deranged by false combinations.

¹ *Tract. Menachot.* c. 3, fol. 34; Morini *Exercit. Bibl.* p. 445.

² Montfaucon, *Palæographia Græca*, lib. i. c. 4, p. 32; Gattereci *Elementa Artis Diplomat.* t. i. p. 52; Baringii *Clavis Diplomatica*, p. 174. Kennicott, *Dissert. Gener.* § 28, mentions several Greek and Latin MSS. written *continua serie*.

³ See Kennicotti *Dissert. super Rat. Text. Hebr.* i. p. 520, ii. p. 200 ff.; *Dissert. Gener.* p. 56, § 28, ed. Bruns., particularly under § 114.

⁴ *Repert. for Bib. and East. Lit.* Part iii. § 140.

with them ; they are found also on the monuments whose inscriptions coincide with the birth of Christ, and are allied with the square alphabet or the Palmyrenean stone-inscriptions.¹ Nay, they were already found in the Hebrew manuscripts of the Alexandrian translators. But in the Phoenician writing there is no trace of them either upon mummies or coins ; is it probable, then, that they were in use in the most ancient times ?

2. But, granted they were as old as the oldest Hebrew author, is it likely that they were then in use as final letters ? How insufficient to the purpose would five 'final figures' have been, since the words occurring in the Bible end with just as many consonants as are found existing in the alphabet. Consequently not five but twenty-two 'final figures' would have been necessary for this purpose !

3. Lastly, it is no longer conjecture but almost beyond doubt, that words in the old times were not concluded by final consonants, but that the office of letter-numerals was filled by them when the number to be expressed was so great as to be beyond the reach of the twenty-two consonants.

As long as the 'final figures' served as letters, in order to avoid mistakes, it was not usual to end words with them. But after the numerals were written at length, it was a natural thought to use them as final letters.

In the Hebrew MS. of the LXX, where a number

¹ Büttner's *Tables of Comparison*, tab. 1, n. 1, col. 1; Kennicotti *Dissert. General.* § 28. The latest Palmyrenean inscription belongs to year of Christ 263, *Philosophical Transact.* vol. xlviii. § 697. Respecting the final figures of the Palmyrenean inscriptions I should like more certainty than I now possess. Kennicott affirms that in the Palmyrenean inscriptions no words are set apart ; can they then possess final figures ?

was expressed by consonants, and it was so high as to exceed the reach of the twenty-two usual consonants, they did the office of numerals. 1 Kings v. 16, the Hebrew text has 300, the LXX, on the other hand, 600; שׁ 300 is exchanged for ס 600. 1 Chr. xii. 35, the printed text 600, but the LXX, 800; here ס 600 and שׁ 800 are transposed. Nehem. vii. 70; the Hebrew text 530; the LXX, however, have only the small number 30. It is easy to imagine how the large number 500 may disappear when expressed by שׁ 500. On the other hand, the omission of חמש מאות is of more difficult solution. 1 Sam. xxiii. 13, the printed text ס 600; on the other hand, the LXX, 400 וּ. See Faber's 2 Programmes: 'Literas olim pro vocibus in numerando a scriptoribus V. T. esse adhibitas (1775, 4). On the other hand, words were not concluded by these figures in the manuscript of the LXX. Ps. xlivi. 2, and xliv. 5, the division of words is opposed to the final syllables. See above (sec. 73). Ps. lxiv. 7, the printed text חפש מחהפש, the LXX ἐξερευνωντες ἐξερευνησει according to a different division חפשם. Zechar. xi. 7, the printed text לֹכֶן עַנְיָה, the LXX as one word εἰς τὴν Χαβαανίτιν. Zechar. xi. 11, the printed text כִּן עַנְיָה; the LXX οἱ Χαβαραῖοι. See Hassencamp's reasons against Kennicott on 1 Sam. vi. 20 (sec. 38).

SECTION 75.—*The Metrical Books also were written Continua Serie.*

It is not even probable that the purely metrical books were at first written in verses, according to the metre; at the utmost a few songs in the historical books will form an exception.

1. It is agreeable to analogy. For the Greek poets also did not write their odes and songs according to the

number of syllables; and their present adopted division into verses, both in editions and manuscripts, originates with the industry of grammarians.¹

2. And how without this hypothesis is the phenomenon to be explained that the old translators so often give expression to a reading which implies a different division of the members from that in use; nay, that the Masoretical division in manuscripts and editions is often entirely false and opposed to the arrangement and structure of the poem? If at first all songs had been written in verses, it must be admitted that subsequent to the time of the authors no more attention has been paid to their metrical divisions, and that from that time forth these have been written continuously like the prose-books. Afterwards, when again word was divided from word by intervening spaces, the members must first have suffered a false division. But to what purpose all these circuitous routes which are so little probable? Compare the false separation Ps. xlvi. 6 (above, sec. 73), and Ps. xlvi. 12 (below, sec. 77). Ps. xxxii. 9, the division would be more correct as follows:

אל	תהי	כשם	כבר	Ne sitis instar equi mulique
אין	הבין	במנין		qui, fræno nunquam eruditus
ורسن	ערינו	לבלוּם		aut capistro ornatus ad constringendum,
בל	קרוב	אלך		haud cuiquam appropinquare audet.

Psalm lxxxvii. 1, 2 must be divided—

יסודתו בהררי קדרש אהב יהוה
שעריו ציון מכל מישכנות עוקב

See Schnurreri ‘Animadversiones in quædam loca Psalmorum,’ fasc. i. sec. 24, 34.

3. In our manuscripts and editions, whence the divi-

¹ Schneider’s *Experiment on Pindar.*

sion into verses in some songs? Why did the Jews prescribe to their caligraphists to write these alone and no others metrically? Is it not likely that these alone received this form from their authors, and that the Jews enjoined its preservation only in obedience to the apparent dictate of antiquity?¹

SECTION 76.—*When was the Continua Scriptio abolished?*

The century when the words were first separated cannot, for want of information, be fixed.² Probably it happened, as in Latin and Greek manuscripts, gradually; probably the empty space in the beginning extended only to passages where a sentence or a section ended, but at last to every word. History is silent also as to its first occasion. Perhaps it arose from the custom of writing only a certain number of consonants in a line; perhaps from the manner in which the Old Testament was read in the synagogues.

In the older manuscripts the number of consonants for each line was fixed, and the rule observed through the entire manuscript. But still it was not possible to put the same number of consonants in every manuscript, because all were not of equal breadth. If the space of a new manuscript were too small to contain as many consonants in a line as that from which a copy was being made, perhaps as an index of the number of consonants in the codex used as

¹ *Massechet Sopherim*. Yet even here at times mistakes have occurred, which for the sake of impartiality I cannot pass over. For instance, Judges v. 13, יְהוָה בָּם, evidently according to the LXX and parallelism belongs to the second member. But such instances are for the most part oversights of the MS. from whence our vulgar text is derived. This is also the case here according to the Halle Bible.

² Tychsen, *Tent.* p. 140, maintains that as early as David's time word-divisions must have been in use because the alphabetical songs suppose separate words; the ground of which I cannot perceive.

exemplar an empty space was left where in the latter the lines ended. Or perhaps the number of consonants in a principal manuscript was preserved in the copies made from it, in somewhat the same manner as, after the fifth century, was the use with regard to the division of the New Testament introduced by Euthalius.¹

Or possibly, in the manuscripts destined for public use, a space might have been left where the reader was to stop and the interpreter with his explanation of the previous reading to follow.²

Enough that about the birth of Christ the division of words in manuscripts was not yet general, much less was it extended to every word ; for the old authors of versions after the birth of Christ vary in numberless instances from the present accepted divisions of words.

In the above-quoted instances (sec. 73) ; the Syrian and Chaldean, Hos. v. 5 ; Syr. and Chald., Ps. xlivi. 2 ; the Syrian, Ps. xliv. 5. Is. xvi. 8, the printed text, שְׁדָמוֹת מוֹת, Theodotion ἀγροὶ θανατῶν, that is שְׁדֵי מוֹת. Is. lxiv. 1, the printed text המִס יְמִים, Symmachus ἐπακη ἡ θαλασσα, that is המִס יְמִים. Ps. xlvi. 15, the printed text עַל מוֹת יְלִמּוֹת, the Chaldean (with LXX and the Vulgate), עַל לִמּוֹת, &c.

Still traces of divided words are to be found in the Hebrew manuscript used by Jerome : ‘Cur autem,’ he writes on Zech. xi. 11, ‘pro eo, quod nos interpretati sumus sic pauperes illi (the LXX) dixerunt Chananaeos, causa manifesta est. Apud Hebraeos enim sic Chen dicitur ; Anie pauperes ; illi duo verba in unum copulantes, pro eo, quod est sic pauperes, hoc est Chen Anie, nomen Chananaæ gentis interpretati sunt.’ The ‘duo verba’ with Jerome must be declared forced if he were not able to

¹ Michaelis’ *Introduction to the N. T.* § 753, 3rd edit.

² Morini *Exercitationes Biblicæ*, p. 444 f.

refer to any divided words at all in his manuscript. See Jerome's commentary on Isaiah xxxiii. 7.

And if, already in the first centuries after Christ, a commencement here and there in the division of words was made, the cause becomes also manifest why modern translators of the Bible take part with our Masoretical word-division where it is left by the elder.

Of the Syrian and Chaldean this is undeniable, if the examples be only considered which were collected (sec. 73 f.), by no means with the purpose of proving this point. Jeremiah xxiii. 33, the expression in both as opposed to the LXX is את מה משא ; Ps. xlivi. 2, Chaldean and Syrian agree with our printed text ; Ps. xliv. 5, the Chaldean sides with the printed text against the LXX and the Syrian.

Progress in this work was made from century to century, for it was found very convenient not to be obliged to have to divide the words of a dead language whilst it was being read. Between the sixth and the tenth centuries, when the present system of punctuation and accenting was introduced, this laborious task must have been fully accomplished, since accents in their present designation and divided words are inseparably connected.

SECTION 77.—8. *Division into Verses.*

If Moses and the Prophets had surrounded their text with Athnakh and Silluk, together with its companion Soph Pasuk, and the whole series of accents, it might naturally follow that their books were already divided by them into the small portions which we call verses, פסוקים. But our accents in their present application, and probably also as to their number, can scarcely be quite a thousand years old (sec. 71) ; consequently our distribution into verses, since that depends on them, bears the same date.

1. Generally speaking, it is so unnatural to cut up a writing, particularly a prose-composition, into such small portions as verses are, that amongst the many singular minds in the author-class of all known times and people, no one has yet been found strange enough to cut up his own writings in such a manner.

2. The ancient Bible-translators were not in possession of a text with a division into words, much less into verses; they vary much from our verse-division, not merely where the interpretation is concerned, but even also where our verse-distribution is the result of a superior hermeneutical tact. Thus, for instance, the LXX, Ps. xlv., join the 11th and 12th verses *καὶ προσκυνησούσιν αὐτῷ θυγατέρες Τυρου*, and spoil the fine passage of the original.

3. And if our distribution into verses originated with the authors, the possibility of the introduction of divisions in numberless instances entirely false and militating against all sense would be incomprehensible.

See the above-cited passages, Ps. xlvi. 6 (sec. 73), Ps. lxxxvii. 1, 2 (sec. 75). Ps. lv. 16, בְּקָרְבֵם belongs to verse 17. Obad. 9, מִקְטָל, with the LXX, Vulg., Arabian, and Syrian, should be carried on to the 10th verse. Esther ix., verses 16 and 17 should have been divided, by which the sense is only rendered more difficult.

4. In Jerome and the Talmud no traces of verses are visible.

Jerome, however, divided the Latin translation into *cola* and *verses*; not, however, because the Hebrew text gave occasion thereto, but from mere imitation of a like division in Greek and Latin manuscripts. The Greeks and Romans, in order to be able to calculate the extent of a writing, were in the habit of writing their authors by the line and of fixing a certain number of words to each line.

This custom was followed by Jerome, as he himself candidly says in his preface to Isaiah : ‘ Nemo cum prophetas *versibus* viderit descriptos, metro eos existimet ab Hebræis ligari, et aliquid simile habere de Psalmis et operibus Salomonis ; sed quod in Demosthene et in Tullio fieri solet ut per cola scribantur et commata qui utriusque prosa et non *versibus* scripserunt : nos quoque utilitati legentium providentes interpretationem novam, novo scribendi genere distinximus.’¹

The Talmud also understands by verses, פסוקים, and by lines, שיטות or שיטין, merely such lines as I have just described from Jerome ; hence the number of verses in the Talmud does not agree with that in the Masora ; and although some verses cited in the treatise Sopherim may commence as ours at present in the Masoretical division, this does not affect my supposition. For the quoted verses are just of the kind with which Parashen begin.²

5. Finally, perhaps also the Jewish expression that formerly the whole law was one verse means that at that time no division existed in the Book of the Law.

In short, our division into verses is contemporary with our present accentuation.³

¹ The passages quoted in the *Repertory for Bibl. and Eastern Lit.* Part iii. § 140, seem to me to show the contrary.

² Morini *Exercitat. Bibl.* pp. 442, 455.

³ Still a notice is wanting to show how the indication of the verse by ciphers was gradually introduced into the editions of the O. T. The Bomberg editions (whether all, however, I know not) are said already to mark by number the recurrence of the fifth and tenth verses. According to De Rossi, the Sabbionetan Pentateuch, of the year 1557, must have been the first, or one of the first, editions in which the fifth verse is always marked by its number (*Annali Ebreo-tipografici di Sabbioneta*, p. 23). Athias’ edition with Leusden’s preface (Amsterd. 1661) is said to have been the first in which all the verses were numbered with their proper ciphers.

SECTION 78.—9. *Parashen.*

After the Babylonian captivity synagogues were everywhere established, in which portions from the Books of Moses were required to be publicly read (Nehemiah viii., Acts of the Apostles xv. 21). This institution gave the first occasion to the division of the Books of Moses into fifty-four sections, called Parashen (*פרשיית*), because in a leap year there are fifty-four Sabbaths.

The end of the preceding and the commencement of the following Parash was marked by leaving in the manuscripts (it is not known how long before the Talmud) a vacant space. If the remaining space of the line, in which the preceding Parash was closed, was left empty, and the following began in a new line, the Parash begun in the mode described was called an opened, *פתוחה*, and this was shown in the space left empty by a פ, wherefore also in manuscripts *פתוחה* will be found written in small letters on the margin. But if upon the same line in which the preceding Parash ended further writing after a small interval took place, the new Parash was called a close, *סתומה*, and a ס was placed in the vacant space, on which account in numerous places in the margin of manuscripts the entire word will be found written in small characters.

Such a portion, which was read entirely on a Sabbath, was termed a great or Sabbath Parash; separate parts of the same, consisting often of only a few verses, were named smaller Parashen, and these were again divided, in the significations above given, into open and shut.

SECTION 79.—10. *Haphtharen.*

Antiochus Epiphanes, out of an impolitic zeal for reform, forbade the Jews to read the writings of Moses publicly in their synagogues. Now in order to avoid

acting in opposition to this command, and at the same time to prevent their sacred books from being forcibly banished from their public assemblies, they began to read the Prophets in their synagogues. When afterwards the obligation to obey this intolerant edict ceased, they joined, in their Sabbath meetings, the exposition of the Law to that of the Prophets (Acts of the Apostles xiii. 15–27).

Since which time the Prophets have been also divided into portions, called Haphtharen (*הפטרות*). When the Haphtharen were legally fixed is not known, probably already before the birth of Christ; Luke iv. 17, where Christ takes a passage from the Prophets, which He wishes to expound, proves nothing, because His explanation was an extraordinary one.

SECTION 80 A.—11. *Division into Chapters.*

Our division into chapters is also recent, and originates with Hugo di San Caro in the twelfth century, whose ‘Biblia cum Postilla’ was the first Bible with chapters. Daniel Bomberg adopted them first in his edition of the Hebrew Bible,¹ and took the Vulgate entirely as his guide in the matter.²

Before the introduction of chapters, great difficulties occurred with regard to citations; and in order to avoid quotations of so vague a nature as those of the Greeks and Romans, reference was made to whole sections by a

¹ Elias Levita in *Præf. ad Massoreth Hammassoreth*.

² In MSS. which had been in the hands of Christians, chapters are sometimes noted (Lilienthal, *De Codd. Regiom.* p. 67). Something similar to our chapter-division—certain sections, distinguished perhaps by the interval of a vacant space—was found by Jerome. They seldom, however, coincide with our distribution of chapters. Jerome, on Micah vi. 9, says: ‘In Hebraicis alterius hoc capituli exordium est, apud LXX vero finis superioris.’

leading word, or by a summary of contents.¹ In this manner quotations are made by Philo, the New Testament, and the Rabbins. Instead of 1 Book Moses iii. Philo says, ‘The Law in the Cursings,’ and the New Testament cites 2 Book Moses iii. by the expression, ‘in the Thorn-bush.’²

Since our division into chapters has not the authority of antiquity in its favour, it is abandoned by the expositor as often as his tact in translation requires.

Hos. vi. 11, merely the chapter division has prevented the translators from penetrating into the sense of the prophet. Place the first half of the 11th verse, נִמְיָזֵד שַׁת קְצִיר לְךָ, to the 10th verse ; with the second half begin the 7th chapter, as the position of the words, the relation of the members, and facility of interpretation require. See further Isaiah ii. 22 ; compare lxiii. 19 with lxiv. 1 ; Daniel iii. 31-33 with iv. 1 ff. ; Ecclesiastes viii. 1 compare with vii. 29 ; iv. 17 with v. 1. Our own editions differ already from one another in the division of chapters ; with Is. xlvi. 12 the Plautinian edition begins a new chapter ; also Joel iii., and elsewhere, the editions are different.

SECTION 80 B.—12. *Division into Books.*

Finally not even the now universally received division into books is contemporary with the collection of the canon ; nor till the sixteenth century, with regard to the Hebrew text, was it fully completed. According to the express testimony of Origen (sec. 53) and Jerome (sec. 55),

¹ In this manner the books of Samuel appear to be quoted, 1 Chron. xxix. 29. See § 470.

² Philo, *De Agricultura*, Opp. t. i. p. 316 ed. Mang., p. 203 ed. Francf.: λεγει γαρ (νομός) ἐν ταῖς ἀπαισ. The N.T. Mark xii. 26, compare 2 B. Moses iii.; Romans xi. 2; Romans iv. 18, compare 1 B. Moses, xv. 5. So speaks Abn Ezra on Hos. iv. 18 : ‘It is written in Eli ;’ and Raschi on Hos. ix. 19 : ‘It is Gibeon in the Concubine.’

the two Books of Samuel, the two of Kings, the two of Chronicles, as well as Ezra and Nehemiah, were not divided by the Jews in their time; also the later Jews to the most recent times have written the above books in their manuscripts close together without leaving any space between. And probably many other books, which are now separated, were formerly undivided. There was, indeed, a time when the twelve lesser Prophets, Judges and Ruth, and many other books were spoken of as a single work, in like manner as Ezra and Nehemiah are mentioned as one book, the two Books of Samuel as one, and also those of Chronicles and Kings; were they not written as closely and continuously together as the supplement to the Book of Judges in the last five chapters is at present?

Be the matter as it may, in early times our present division was introduced into the Alexandrian version, which was followed by the Vulgate; and Daniel Bomberg distributed the books united (before his time) in the manuscripts and editions of the Hebrew text, in his edition of the Vulgate in the manner in which they are now printed in all editions.

SECOND PART.—HISTORY OF THE TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

SECTION 81.—*External Circumstances of the Autographs.*

The autographs, or, if these were never extant, because either the authors dictated or never collected their works, the original copies of the writings of the Old Testament in the time before the Babylonian captivity were, if not all, at least a part of them, written on linen (sec. 63), in Phœnico-Egyptian characters (sec. 64), with vowel-marks applied here and there (sec. 68), without diacritical points (sec. 72), and word joined to word (sec. 73). Accents

were added not to all the books but to songs only which were set to music (sec. 71); the text also was not divided into chapters (sec. 80), verses (sec. 77), Parashen (sec. 78), nor Haphtharen.

SECTION 82.—*Internal Shape of the Autographs.*

1. *Double Editions from the Authors themselves.*

Of some parts of the Old Testament a second recension was executed by the authors themselves, or a second edition revised from beginning to end and here and there altered. We possess also still both revisions of some in the original language; of others one in the original and the other in a translation. Besides these still more may have been extant in repeated and altered editions, only in this case one of the two has become the prey of time.

Two editions of the same song have been preserved in the 14th and 53rd Psalm in the original language; and the second edition of the Prophecies of Jeremiah in the Alexandrian version ('Repertory for Bibl. and Eastern Lit.' Pt. i. sec. 141). Indeed more than two editions of many pieces of the Old Testament must have been formerly extant, as, for instance, of the 18th Psalm, sung by David after a victory as a song of triumph, and in which passages occur of which David, in his triumph over Saul, could not possibly have been the author. But here and in the parallel instance, 2 Sam. xxii., only one of the many editions forms the ground-work, enriched with readings and additions suggested to the muse of the poet by different adaptations of the Psalm on the occasion of new victories. The union of the various editions is, however, so complete as to exceed the powers of any critical genius, however happy, to separate them again from each other.

In the cases described many autographs or original copies existed, which in the details were different from

one another—which constitutes the essence of a new edition. Words were exchanged, more polished expressions selected, additions inserted, &c.

For instance, the difference of the two editions of the same song, Ps. xiv. and liii., consists in the following particulars :—1. Words are exchanged. Of God, Ps. xiv., 2, 4, 7, uses the expression יְהוָה ; Ps. liii., in the parallel passages, אלֹהִים. 2. More select phrases are used Ps. liii. (probably the 2nd edit.). Ps. xiv. 1, עַלְיָה, for which Ps. liii. 2 has the more precise עַל. Ps. xiv. 3, the usual סָר ; Ps. liii. 4, the more rare סָג. Ps. xiv. 3, הַכְלֵל, for which Ps. liii. 4, כָלֵל, which appears to have afforded more satisfaction to the ear. 3. Quite different expressions are found Ps. xiv. 5, compared with Ps. liii. 6. For the illustration of the proceeding in a new edition of an old work, the double lives of David and Solomon in the books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles may be used (sec. 468, 480). The results of such a comparison are remarkable.

SECTION 83.—2. *Repetition of Single Passages by later Authors.*

It was also not unusual in later times to make a new literary use of old writings. Single passages, for instance, were taken from the works of many poets differing from one another, and new poems composed out of the same. The Prophets of later times, as Jeremiah and Ezekiel, compiled many prophecies from the works of earlier Prophets. In this, however, they did not proceed like slavish copyists; they made omissions, additions, and exercised a choice as to readings which were more poetical, suitable to their genius or to the immediate occasion. Let a comparison be made of Ps. cviii., which

is composed of Ps. lvii. 8-12, and lx. 7-14. Let Jer. xlviij. be compared with Is. xv., xvi; Jer. xlix. 7-17 with Obadiah. Of the alterations allowed to themselves by authors in these repetitions, a sufficient idea may be obtained by a comparison of the cited passages. For proof of which, just one example. The style of Obadiah is fierce and fiery; his thoughts are all clothed in questions and exclamation, and he jumps from one person to another. All this was opposed to the character of Jeremiah. Hence when he brings the former forwards and retains his words, in one case he omits the interrogatory form (Jerem. xlix. 9; Obad. 5), in another the exclamatory (Jerem. xlix. 10; Obad. 6), avoids the transitions from one person to another (Jer. xlix. 16; Obad. 3), and reduces into a small compass the varied representations of Obadiah.

SECTION 84.—*The Manuscripts were not Free from Faults. First Source of Faults.*

Some of the faults of our present Hebrew texts are older than any aids still extant applicable to the critical elaboration of the Old Testament, and are in all probability derived entirely, in part certainly,¹ from the original exemplars.

The faults which affect merely single consonants have

¹ Let no one take umbrage at the word ‘certainly.’ In the passage below occurring, taken out of Amos, one only of two things is possible: either Amos made a mistake in writing, or the errors are derived from the first copy of his autograph, which have been since propagated in all subsequent copies. Is it not, however, much more probable that a man entirely destitute of learning, as Amos was, should commit orthographical mistakes, betrayed thereto by his ear, than a copyist, expert in the art of writing, in virtue of his calling, and so conscientious as sooner to imitate three faults in his original MS. than to make one new one?

often arisen from the circumstance that writing took place by the ear without any fixed rules of orthography. If the author dictated (as Jeremiah to his Baruch), how easily the scribe might mishear ;¹ and even if the author revised the copy, how easily he might overlook the error, able only to be discovered by a person versed in the art of writing and orthography, which perhaps he was not ! But even if the author wrote himself, orthography might be no familiar matter with him ; he wrote, then, merely by the ear, unorthographically, or to speak more learnedly, his writing was anomalous. Such orthographical mistakes may, however, be laid to the charge of the later copyists. But if in one book many faults of the kind are found, and in another very few or almost none at all, is it then still likely that the clerk is the real offender ? Why did he commit such oversights in one author, and in another so few or scarcely any ? Why is no trace to be found with the Masorites that in such passages the manuscripts were different ? Have all scribes erred in these passages, and exactly in the same manner ?

On the other hand, much more natural and easy is the solution of this problem if the faults be referred to the original exemplar ; the copy of one book was written in a more orthographical manner than that of another.

Concerning the variations of Hebrew orthography in ancient times, no remarks occur in Teller's 'Dissert. de Judicio super variis Lectionibus Codicis Hebraei recte faciendo,' sec. 8 in his 'Opuscula,' pp. 33, 40. The Prophet Amos affords many instances of incorrectly written words, which in all probability are to be derived from the original copy. I will excerpt only the four last chapters in proof of this.

¹ Perhaps 1 Thess. ii. 8, δμειρομενοι (which still seems to be the oldest reading) may be explained this way, unless it be a fault in speech of the Apostle instead of the more correct ἡμειρομενοι.

Amos v. 11, בּוֹשָׁבָכִם instead of בּוֹסָסְכִם, where the false orthography has misled all the ancient translators to conjecturing ; vi. 8, מַתָּאָב instead of מַתָּאָב, a complete Ephraimism (sec. 97) ; vii. 9, יִשְׁחָק instead of קַחְקָא. The LXX, by means of the orthographical errors, were already misled to translate בְּמֹות יִשְׁחָק by βωμοι του γελωτος, the Vulgate by 'excelsa idoli (ridiculi quid),' and the Syrian by حَسَنَ حَسَنٌ 'fana risus (ridicula) ;' vii. 16, יִשְׁחָק again, for קַחְקָא, compare Ps. cvii. 8, Jer. xxxiii. 26 ; viii. 4, לִשְׁבֵּית according to the ear, for לִהְשֵׁבֵית, compare 2 Kings ix. 15, the Keri and Chetiv. So, perhaps, 'Ιουδα was written instead of 'Ιουτα, by the ear, Luke i. 39.

SECTION 85.—Second Source of Faults in the Manuscripts.

If a writing in the first instance, either entirely or in part, was written down from the mouths of the people—which perhaps was the case with regard to many Psalms, the Proverbs of Solomon, which were collected in Hezekiah's time, and the additional maxims joined on to the Book of Proverbs in the two last chapters—how impossible was it to reduce them to writing without an admixture of false, though perhaps neither senseless readings nor such as changed the sense ! To prove all this by examples free from all objections is indeed just as impracticable as to bring back the ancient primitive text again ; the reading, then, where not without meaning, must have been unequal to the spirit of the author. In this case it is still competent to the acuteness of the higher criticism to discover the faulty passages and to restore them, at least so far as to be suitable to the spirit of the author. Therefore we are compelled to rest satisfied with general considerations.

Many Psalms, not merely the more ancient, but also the more modern, not merely the dark and difficult, but

also the easy and intelligible, contain the most manifest errors in considerable number, for which there is no aid, either in old versions, manuscripts, or other critical authorities. On the other hand, by their side are placed old primitive songs, which either require no corrections at all, or, if they seem to require such, may easily be amended from critical sources still extant; others, finally, have come down to our time with a text so correct as to excite astonishment, as for instance, the certainly by no means modern Psalm cxix., which by its length and the sameness of its 176 sentences might have wearied the industry of the most patient copyist, and yet bears scarcely any traces of its high antiquity. Is it, then, probable that the Jewish copiers, who have given elsewhere such singular proofs of untiring industry, and even all of them, should be so remarkably negligent in the same passages? Must not the Psalms which contain such perplexing passages originate from the exemplar which is the source of our present Psalter? and since with regard to other Psalms this source runs so pure, must not the faulty songs flow from a troubled spring which runs into the former? and under these circumstances, is it too bold a hypothesis to suppose that they were taken down from the mouths of the people at a time when it was no longer possible to correct the half-accurate passages, where memory was at fault, and either nothing more was desired or the mind was forced to rest satisfied with what was imperfect?

SECTION 86.—*Third Source of Faults in the Autographs.*

Finally at times when old matter had been cast into new form by authors, or had undergone the process of epitome, this was not done without orthographical failures. This may be shown to the highest grade of probability in some passages of the Old Testament.

To bring forward many examples, of which this has not elsewhere been proved, would occasion too wide a digression. Only a few then. The author of the information respecting the Noachian Deluge, 1 Book Moses vi.-ix., who from two accounts has formed one narrative, must in writing down the passage 1 Book Moses vii. 9 have committed an oversight—compare 16. See ‘Repertory for Bibl. and East. Lit.’ Part v. sec. 209. A similar oversight was detected by the deceased Professor Vogel, 1 Chron. i. 17 ff. In this pedigree, he says, there lies a double mistake of the author of the Books of Chronicles. First he declares the following as sons of Shem :—Elam, Ashur, Arphaxad, Lud, Aram, Uz, Hul, Gether, and Meshech,¹ although the four last are not the sons of Shem but his grandsons through Aram; then he mentions Arphaxad’s son Shelah; Shelah’s son Eber; then Eber’s sons Peleg and Joktan. Verses 20–23, he names Joktan’s sons as they are given 1 Book Moses x. 26–29. Afterwards when he is about to enumerate Peleg’s posterity, instead of joining this pedigree to the preceding by means of the words ‘**וּבָנֵי פֶלֶג**’ ‘Peleg’s posterity were,’ he goes back again to the commencement and names all the ancestors of Peleg from Shem. The author, that is to say, has merely copied the genealogies as they stand 1 Book Moses x.–xi., and merely because in the 11th chapter the line of Peleg recommences from Shem and his descendants the ancestors of Peleg; in like manner, after having written off ch. x. 21–29, he has immediately copied on to it from chap. xi. 10–26 the descendants of Shem through Peleg. But see sec. 490.

SECTION 87.—*Destruction of the Original Manuscripts.*

How and when the autographs perished no one knows. For what is said of them by the Church Fathers, as to being burnt in the Temple, is a false conjecture (sec. 3).

1. It is possible that before the Babylonian captivity, the autographs of many authors were lost. For at that

¹ Another possible representation, see § 490.

time, as in all antiquity, for want of critical eyes, small attention was paid to autographs, as evidently appears from the literary history of that of Moses, which, although as the Book of the Law of double importance, nevertheless for a long time lay hid in a corner, till an accident rescued it from oblivion (2 Kings xxii. 8, 2 Chronicles xxxiv. 14). And who can say whether the material for manuscripts used in the oldest times was of a texture fitted for long duration? In the times of Pliny a codex with moderate use lasted at the very longest 200 years—in remote antiquity, most probably a still shorter time, for the ability to select a sufficiently durable material for writing, or one on which the writing itself could take place, did not then exist.

2. The early destruction of the manuscripts, at least of some books, was a matter of necessity. If an ancient writing underwent revision at a very early period and became the basis of a new work enlarged by means of insertions and additions, would it not be natural after such alteration to prefer the richer and more perfect work to the meagre and shorter one, and to leave the defective original to decay? If, however, the ancient Hebrew books from the times before the captivity were preserved merely in private hands (as above seemed to be probable) and were not rescued from the first Temple library, it follows that with regard to the greatest part of the Hebrew Scriptures, the autographs, at least, perished at the commencement of the captivity.

And the manuscripts which survived the captivity must have perished soon after that event. Thereafter the Jews established a library of their sacred books and transcribed them out of the old character in use before the captivity into a modern one derived from the former (sec. 67). After this change is it likely that the autographs, written in a

character which, in a hundred years after probably, became generally illegible, in an age when ideas of the critical use of such manuscripts did not exist, should still be held in estimation? They were but little esteemed at first, and subsequently were quite forgotten. And even if in the first instance they have been objects of regard, age would still have rendered them useless—the character would have suffered spontaneous extinction.

SECTION 88.—*New Transcript after the Captivity.*
Temple Copy.

After the Babylonian captivity all the sacred books previously composed by the Hebrews were copied anew and, together with others, placed in a library in the Temple (sec. 5, 15, 39). Whether Daniel and Ezra, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, and Nehemiah and Esther were laid there in the original manuscripts of their authors, there are no materials either for affirming or denying.

SECTION 89.—*Character of this Temple Copy Internal
and External.*

1. *It was not Free from Faults.*

Of the external character of this copy, the representations which appeared to me most probable have been stated above (Chap. II. sec. 1).

With regard to its text, if the remarks above adduced (sec. 84–87) be well founded, *false readings* must already at that time have crept into many passages, whether the autographs themselves, or copies made from them, were placed in the Temple library.

Various readings also must have existed in the books, which were previously extant in numerous copies, unless

the hands of the caligraphists had been guided miraculously. But these two kinds of readings were not noted in the Temple copy. The first, if they disturbed not the text, it was not within the competency of a person uninstructed from above to remark; and if the stamp of falseness appeared not evidently on their face, only the finest criticism was equal to their perception, neither of which was to be expected from the compiler and second editor after the Babylonian captivity.

The last, the various readings, were easy to be discovered if the existing copies were but collated. But in the old world verbal criticism did not exist, because at that time interpretation by grammatical rules was unknown; and least of all was it to be sought amongst the Jews, among whom, before the birth of Christ, not a spark of criticism had appeared. Of all the readings then afforded by the Masora, and in our manuscripts placed on the margin, not a trace was doubtless to be found in the genuine Temple copy.

SECTION 90.—2. *The Temple Copy was written with Abbreviations. Numeral Letters instead of Words.*

The question whether in this new copy abbreviations were used may with great probability be answered in the affirmative, if, from the nature of the exemplar used by the Alexandrians in their version of the Bible, we dare refer to the latter and reckon numeral letters put for numeral words amongst abbreviations.

The employment by the authors of the Old Testament, who wrote with Phœnico-Egyptian letters, of a kind of ciphers, when numbers were to be expressed, is possible, since Count Caylus affirms his discovery of ciphers on mummies, which were written closely all over in this

character.¹ And in this case it was also natural, in the new copy made after the Babylonian captivity, to express numbers not with words, but, having regard to the character of the original exemplar, by ciphers, or in their deficiency by numeral letters.²

Now the passages of the Old Testament in which numbers occur are frequently subject to grave doubts. Frequently the number given exceeds all belief of the rational thinker; but if that be not the case, still the numbers in parallel passages are often contradictory, or a great difference is found between the numbers of the original text and those of the oldest Bible interpreters, the LXX.

According to 1 Chron. xxii. 14 David appoints from his poverty (בָּעֵנִי) only one hundred thousand talents of gold and a million talents of silver; and according to 1 Chron. xxix. 3, 4, he has saved a treasure of 3,000 talents of the gold of Ophir and 7,000 talents of refined silver for the purpose of incrusting the walls of the Temple, and this at a time when gold and silver from America were not in circulation! Jehoram dies in his fortieth year, and his son, a prince of forty-two years, succeeds to his throne—compare 2 Chron. xxi. 20, and xxii. 2. Other passages of the sort are 2 Chron. xvii. 14 ff.: 2 Sam. viii. compared with 1 Chron. xviii. 4; 1 Kings iv. 26

¹ *Mémoires de Trevoux*, A. 1740 in März, Artic. xxi.; *Lettre à M. Rigord*, Commissaire de la Marine, where a plate of such a mummy is given; Count Caylus, *Recueil d'Antiquités Egypt. &c.* t. i. pp. 65–76, tab. xxi.–xxvi.; Gattereri *Elementa Artis Diplomat.* t. i. p. 71 ff.

² On the Samaritan coins with the names of Jonathan and Simon, numeral letters are already found, e.g., יְנַתֵּן הַכֹּהן הַגָּדוֹל וְחֶבְרַי בָּ 'Jonathan the high priest, and those joined with him. *Two* (in the second year). Swinton, *De Numeris Samarit.* pp. 67–72. *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, t. xxiv. pp. 52, 61. Upon another coin published by Bayer with the name of Simon, stand שׁב, i.e. in the second year. Kennicotti *Diss. gener.* § 27, on which passage Bruns remarks further that on an old Syrian MS. written in Estranghelo on parchment, and which belongs to the Barberini Library, Judges xviii. 17, the number 5 is expressed by חַנְבָּרַי ח = 5 men.

compared with 2 Chron. ix. 25. See Kennicott 'Super Ratione Textus Hebr. Dissert.' i. p. 523; ii. 189, 201. Similar phenomena in the chronology of the Bible are remarked in the 'Tractatus Theologico-Politicus,' Hamb. 1670; Dan. Heinsii 'Operum Historicorum Collectio,' i. ed. 2, Lugd. Bat. p. 168 f.; Langen's 'Dialogue between a Courtier and a Priest' by Cramer (Copenh. 1768. 8).

These statements are in most cases inexplicable from numeral words written at large; on the other hand, their causes become evident if recourse be had to numeral letters. In short, this hypothesis will endure the proof by which the probability of every hypothesis is tested; it solves all difficulties and is open to no objections.

1. It clears up contradictions in single passages.

According to 2 Sam. xxiv. 13, there should come to pass a famine of seven (*שבע*) years; according to the LXX in this passage, as well as the Hebrew text 1 Chron. xxi. 12, a famine of three (*שלוש*) years. A change of verbal numerals here is not to be imagined, but only one of the numeral letters **ב**, 3, and **ו**, 7. 1 Kings xii. 21, Rehoboam gathers 180,000 men according to the Hebrew text, according to the LXX 120,000. The numeral expressions *שמנים* 80, and *עשרים* 20 are not, it is true, permuted, but **ב** indeed = 80 and **כ** 20. 1 Kings ix. 28, after the Hebrew text, Solomon's fleet brings back from Ophir 420 talents of gold, but according to the LXX 120 talents. Not *ארבע מאות מאה* and *מאה*, but **כ** 100 and **ת** 400 are changed 1 Sam. ix. 22, Hebr. 30; the LXX and Josephus (Antiq. vii. 4. 1) 70; here **ל** 30 is changed for **י** 70. 1 Sam. xi. 8, and 2 Sam. vi. 1, the printed Hebrew text has both times *שלשים* 30, the LXX both times 70: here, again, **ל** 30 and **ו** 70 have been interchanged. 1 Sam. iv. 18 compared with the LXX, **כ** and **ט**; Ezra ii. 28 compared with the LXX, **ת** and **ר**; 1 Sam. iv. 15 **צ** and **ע**, comp. with the LXX are interchanged. Still further passages of the kind are to be found by collating the LXX with 1 Kings vii. 21–23, vi. 1;

Nehem. vii. 33 ; 1 Kings x. 26 ; 1 Sam. viii. 4 ; 2 Sam. vi. 13 ; 1 Chron. xv. 6 ; 2 Kings vi. 25 ; 1 Sam. xxiii. 13, xvii. 4 ; Nehem. vii. 34 ; 1 Kings xvi. 29, v. 16, x. 16 ; 1 Sam. xi. 8, xv. 4 ; 1 Chron. xii. 36 ; Esth. ix. 15.

2. Supposing the numbers to have been written in numeral letters it is also conceivable why so many numbers have suffered or been lost altogether. The numeral letters in these cases were similar to each other in the manuscripts, or crouched beneath their larger neighbours, with their little figures.

שׁבעים שׁלשים 30, 70 are so little alike and yet so often changed for one another, as 1 Sam. ix. 22, xi. 8 ; 2 Sam. vi. 1 ; י 70 and ל 30 in manuscripts are often confessedly alike. So also שׁ 300, and מ 600, but not indeed שׁלוש מאות and שׁ מאות, as 1 Kings v. 16, x. 16 ; 1 Sam. xi. 8. To what danger was not the number 'ten' exposed ! The number-word עשר was not the cause thereof, but the little numeral letter ' , which may so easily be lost. Ezra ii. 39, Esther ix. 14, iii. 12, the number 'ten' is wanting in the LXX. It is wanting also 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9, as is evident from the parallel passage 2 Kings xxiv. 8 ; it is wanting 2 Sam. xvii. 10, in which verse it is twice expressed in the LXX.

3. Finally, this hypothesis affords the reason why in compound numbers, sometimes the first, sometimes the last, now the greater, now the lesser fails : a single consonant, how easily hustled or hidden by its next neighbour !

Of שׁלשים חמיש מאות Nehemiah viii. 70, the LXX express only the number 30, leaving out the number 500. How far more comprehensible is the omission of a ג (500) than the numeral words חמיש מאות. In like manner also is wanting with the LXX 1 Kings xx. 15 ; 2 Chron. xvi. 13, אחדת שנים, 2 Chron. xxiii. 20, חמאות, Nehem. vii. 68, 69, thirteen numbers are wanting. On the other hand numbers were also found by the LXX where since their time, according to our Hebrew

text, they are lost, as Nehemiah vii. 72, 1 Kings xv. 9, Esth. vii. 12, 2 Chron. xxviii. 1, 2 Kings i. 18, 1 Kings vii. 23.

Still it does not follow from the observations hitherto applied, that no number at all is anywhere written out. If in this matter we may rely on the old authors of versions, it seems much more probable that numbers were expressed at pleasure either by means of words or of numeral letters. For, accustomed to numeral words written at length, numeral words were often found by them where according to the sequence of ideas of the authors, and our present punctuation, none are admissible; sometimes our numbers are accompanied with such intimations as imply numeral words written at length.¹

Nehem. v. 11 מִתְּאַת כָּסֶף, the LXX ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀργυρίου מִתְּאַת כָּסֶף; Ps. xvi. 11 שְׁבֻעָה (fulness), Symmachus ἐπτα ς̄בָעָה; Proverbs xxvi. 16 מִשְׁבַּעַת, Symmachus ὑπερ ἐπτα, LXX τοῦ ἐν πλησιονῃ; Ecclesiastes viii. 12, מִתְּאַת, Symmachus, Aquila, and Theod. ἀπέθανε, because they regarded the מ as nearly a ‘mater lectionis’ (*Lesemutter*, Germ.), means of enunciation, and derived the word from מות. See 1 Samuel ii. 5, 1 Book Moses xli. 47, viii. 4, Ezekiel xlvi. 5, Habak. iii. 2, the ancient translators.

The employment of consonants as in general use in their time for numeral letters, is implied by the Talmud² and by Jerome³ in many places.

¹ Concerning this matter, see Kennicott, i. p. 523, ii. p. 189, 201; Hassencamp’s remarks against Kennicott concerning 1 Samuel vi. 19, § 44. This subject is misty indeed, for light to two Programmes of Faber, *Literas olim pro vocibus in numerando a scriptoribus V.T. esse adhibitas* (Onoldi, 1775. 4).

² According to Kennicott, *Dissert. Gener.* p. 53, § 27, ed. Bruns, this was proved by Leusden in *Philologo Hebr.* p. 128.

³ Yod (says Jerome) ‘apud Græcos et Hebræos denarium numerum significat,’ Jerome’s Opp. t. i. col. 318, t. iii. col. 1754, ed. Benedict. Paris, 1693.

SECTION 91.—*Destruction of the Temple Copy.*

How early or late the so far described Temple copy, otherwise called the Codex of Ezra, perished, it is impossible to determine. Its longer or shorter duration depended on the material employed and the rare or frequent use. At the time of Christ and the Apostles it was certainly no longer extant; ¹ it is neither mentioned by the Talmud nor by a Father of the Church; it was neither to be found at Cairo nor at Châlon-sur-Saône nor at Bologna with the Dominicans, ² as was formerly suggested by coarse fraud or ignorance and received by holy simplicity.

SECTION 92.—*Increase of the Copies.*

After the founding of the new state in Palestine, it became necessary to provide a multitude of copies of the Old Testament, since it was thought good to establish synagogues in cities, towns, and villages. It was the

¹ Titus Vespasian took the then extant Temple copy with him to Rome. Josephus, *De Bello Jud.* lib. vii. c. 5, § 5, p. 415, διεπρεπε δε παντων τα ἔγκαταληφθεντα τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολυμοῖς ἵερῳ χρυσῃ τε τραπέζᾳ . . . και λυχνια χρυσου . . . δ τε νομος δ τῶν Ἰουδαιῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐφερετο τῶν λαφυρῶν τελευταῖοις . . . compare *Antiq.* vii. 6. Reland, *De Spoliis Templi Hierosol.* p. 51 notes, p. 76 notes. And if (as probably may be taken) this was the exemplar which Josephus afterwards begged and received as a present from Titus, the expression *νομος* must stand for all the *holy books* of the Jews. For concerning the copy presented to him, he says, *De Vita sua*, § 75, p. 38, αἰτησιν ἐποιουμην Τίτου και βιβλιων ἱερων ἐλαβον χαρισαμενου Τίτου. Probably this was already a later copy of the Old Temple exemplar.

² It is probably a common roll of the Law, written in the eleventh or twelfth century. Both ancient and modern scholars are agreed on the point. With Kennicott it is marked No. 527. See Kennicott, *Dissert. Gener. Codex 527*, p. 504 ed. Bruns; Adler's *Short Sketch of his Biblical-Critical Travels*, § 52. Also this codex has been treated by Montfaucon, in *Diario Italico*, p. 309. Kennicott, in *Diss. super Rat. Textus Hebr. t. i.* p. 299.

custom at first to have only a copy of the five Books of Moses, because at that time Moses alone was read. But an intolerant edict of the King of Syria, Antiochus Epiphanes, in virtue of which the Books of Moses were banished from the synagogues, was the occasion that the Prophets furnished the public readings, and afterwards when the edict fell into desuetude Moses and the Prophets were read together; consequently each synagogue required a copy of the Prophets also.

Whether, however, the Hagiographa about this time was frequently copied, may seem doubtful. But if it be considered that the book of Esther at least, which was the subject of solemn lecture at the feast Purim, must have been extant in numerous copies; that the desire of every synagogue must have been to possess the entire Temple library; and that the Jews before the birth of Christ, in their allusions to the Holy Scriptures, describe them always under three heads (sec. 6) as if they had always been preserved in the same form—it must be inferred with the highest probability that complete collections of all these writings existed in numerous exemplars. Here then we stand at the very origin of our various readings: and it will be most convenient to inquire here immediately into its various sources.

All kinds of various readings may be classed under two heads—*Corrections* and *Faults in Writing*. Amongst corrections may be reckoned—1. Intentional corruptions; 2. interpolated remarks and scholia; 3. alterations according to the Midrashim, Targumim, Jewish commentaries (Perushim), and grammar; 4. improvements suggested by conjectural sagacity; 5. and all sorts of orthographical liberties, in which the alternatives for choice were those enumerated from sec. 97 to 101. Amongst written faults—1. Omissions arising from like words (*όμοιοτελευτῶν*);

2. exchange of similar consonants ; 3. false division of words ; 4. transpositions ; and 5. wrong interpretations of abbreviations and numeral letters. But in many cases the choice of the category would be difficult, because the origin of many readings may be derived from more than one source ; those arising from parallel passages may flow just as well from faults in writing or memory as from express corrections. Hence it seems more suitable to take all single cases separately, and leave to every one its solution, in order to avoid a construction either too limited or one-sided.

SECTION 93.—*First Source : Twice-recurring Passages.*

Many passages in the Old Testament occur twice : Psalm xiv. and Psalm liii. ; Psalm xl. 14 f. and Psalm lxx. ; Psalm xviii. and 2 Samuel xxii. ; Psalm cviii. and Psalms lvii. 8-12 and lx. 7-14 ; Psalm cv. and 1 Chronicles xvi. 8-22 ; Psalm xcvi. and 1 Chronicles xvi. 23-33 ; Isaiah xxxvii., xxxviii. and 2 Kings xix., xx. ; Jeremiah lii. and 2 Kings xxiv. ; and those passages in the Books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles which are literally repeated (see sec. 468, 480). The compilers of the Old Testament after the Babylonian captivity may have found some passages already introduced twice ; others may have first inserted them a second time. In the first case, a double edition by the author himself is the source of such second insertion (sec. 82) ; but sometimes the second edition was the work of a later author, or a new work was composed from materials drawn from a more ancient one (sec. 83, 468, 480). In both cases words may have been changed, new and more valuable readings selected, and, in short, those changes made which constitute the essence of a revised edition (sec. 82).

But in particular since the Babylonian exile some historical passages have obtained a double place in the Old Testament; in the first instance in the entire works of the authors to whom they were assigned, and afterwards in the chronicles of the Hebrews, where they were inserted for the sake of completeness, as Jeremiah lii. and 2 Kings xxiv.; Isaiah xxxvii., xxxviii. and 2 Kings xix., xx. The editor who reduced the historical passages to order might permit himself all sorts of liberties; here he might transpose some matter, there reduce some other by abridgment; at one time he might change certain expressions, at another the orthography.

Finally, many a thought is repeated in and from passages the most different, sometimes expressed by the same, sometimes by similar words, either because they were analogous to one another, or because with regard to many thoughts there exists but one natural, suitable, and sufficient expression for them (sec. 139. 6).

He, then, who in manuscripts and old versions, or, in their absence, in our printed editions, examines sections and passages of the kind, will find that such recurring or like passages have been compared and corrected by and out of one another; or if the mode of proceeding has not been quite so daring, that the variations of both texts have been noted by the industry of some observer at first in the margin and by the later hand of some scribe or small critic inserted in the text itself. This, however, was not the case in all manuscripts, and even in those where it occurred, not to the recurring passages throughout, but sometimes here, sometimes there, with reference to single expressions. Such was the rise of the various readings.

In Isaiah (xxxviii. 21, 22) in the relation of the healing of King Hezekiah, the discourse of the King with the Prophet is

abridged and the circumstance passed over of the order of application of figs to the plague-boils by Isaiah, as mentioned 2 Kings xx. 7, 8. But this information taken from the parallel passage was carried to the margin of a manuscript of Isaiah, and from thence inserted in a place where it had no right to stand, namely, Isaiah xxxviii. 21, 22. 1 Book Moses 7, 6, מים seems to be a gloss, sprung from a parallel passage ('Repertory for Bibl. and East. Lit.' Part v. sec. 215). Isaiah lxiii. 5, many manuscripts have וְחַמָּתִי instead of וְחַמָּתִי because in transcribing, the first word, from Is. lix. 16, was in the mind of the copyists. 1 Book Moses xlivi. 9, the reading לְאַבִּי for לְלֹא arose from an exchange with 1 Book Moses xliv. 32. See sec. 99. Ps. xiv. 5, the words, שֶׁם פְּחֻדָו פְּחֻר are rendered by the LXX by ἐκεὶ ἐδειλιασαν φοβω, οὐκ οὐν φοβος, as in Ps. liii. 6 in the second edition of our Psalms. Many examples are afforded by Kennicott's Bible from 1 Sam. xx., and the other passages above quoted; from manuscripts; from ancient versions; the 'Repert. for Bibl. and East. Lit.' Part iv. sec. 109 ff.; from our Bible-editions; Vogel's remarks on 'Capelli Crit. Sacr.' sec. 30 ff.; Bruns on Kennicott's 'Diss. Gen.' sec. 61.

SECTION 94.—Second Source : Scholia.

Already in very early times scholia were written on the margins of manuscripts. In the childhood of the author-world, when precision in expression was not aimed at, the phrase for a later reader is deficient in meaning; the author had no anticipation that his later reader would miss an idea, since its absence was not perceptible to himself. Often, even for the sake of a euphemism, something was omitted. In both cases the possible supplement was written by some officious hand on the margin, and by another transferred to the text.

Such a scholium is the נֶלֶכְתָה הַשְׁרָה, 1 Book Moses iv. 8, which is yet found in the Samaritan copy of the Pentateuch and ex-

pressed by the LXX, the Syrian, Itala, and the Targums of Jerusalem and Aquila ('Repert.' &c. Pt. ii. sec. 243). 1 Book Moses xxxv. 22, an ancient but silly scholium is given by the LXX, which bears the mark of a foolish commentator : καὶ πονηρὸν ἐφανη ἐναντιον αὐτοῦ. Compare 1 Book Kings ii. 32.

SECTION 95 A.—*Third Source: Midrashim.*

Already in very early times, detached words, phrases, and passages of the Old Testament were played with by the Jews, and all kinds of spiritual or allegorical meanings therefrom brought to light, which were termed **מִרְשִׁים** (allegorical explanations). These fancies were carried by them before the birth of Christ sometimes into the text with all kinds of signs, sometimes only to the margins of manuscripts ; and subsequently, either through accident or ignorance, thence into the text itself. As signs of their allegorical chimeras, the Jews employed *literas majusculas inversas, suspensas, finales* in the middle of words, and *medianas* at the end of them ;¹ they dismembered the text in the most arbitrary way ; perpetrated abscissions, additions, interlineations ; as was most suitable to their allegorical diversion.

See Olai Gerh. Tychsen, 'Tentamen de variis Codd. Hebr. Novi Testamenti MSS. generibus,' sec. 197 ff. Judges xviii. 30, **מַנֵּשָׂה** was already found by the LXX instead of **משָׂה** lest any one at the first view of this passage might suppose that the son of Moses was the first idolator. In the Talmud the reading **מַנֵּשָׂה** is mentioned ('Bava Bathra,' fol. 109.6, ed. Venet. 1548). See Kennicott, 'Diss. Gen.' sec. 21. And one of the oldest and most important manuscripts of the LXX has *Mavaσση*.

¹ 3 B. Moses vi. 4, may serve as a proof, where **עַ** is an exegetical gloss to remind of a *dictum classicum*, as **נַ** in the 2 B. Moses.

See 'Repert. for Bibl. and East. Lit.' Part ii. sec. 223. A greater allegorical gloss, חמשם אלף איש, had already before the time of the LXX, 1 Sam. vi. 20, wrought its way into the text. See Tychsen, 'Tentamen,' sec. 211; Hufnagel, 'Dissert. super 1 Sam. vi. 19'; De Rossi, 'De Typogr. Hebr. Origine,' Erlang. 1778. See De Rossi, 'Cod. Pontif.' p. 85; 'Repert. for Bibl. and East. Lit.' Part xv. 172. If Isaiah xxxii. 2, לְאַ should stand for לְיַ even according to the Masora, this would be then probably a cabalistical trifling, which, however, has not found its way into the manuscripts, since Kennicott quotes his codex in favour of לְאַ. According to the treatise Peah, c. 5, Mish. 6, Proverbs xxii. 25, out of לְעֹזֶל by means of explanatory play לְעֹזֶל is formed. See Rabe's translation, sec. 88. Compare also Judges xv. 10, with xvi. and Talmud 'Hierosol. Tract. Sota,' fol. 17, which will have Judges xvi. 30 to be read according to an allegorical explication ארבעים, a reading which fortunately no accident has introduced into the Hebrew text. Tychsen has further Midrashim from the Talmud (which, however, have not crept into the Biblical text) in 'Tent.' pp. 202, 203, 211.

SECTION 95 B.—*Fourth Source: Alterations after Targumim, Perushim, and Grammar.*

After the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into the Chaldean, a reading frequently obtruded itself unconsciously on the copyists, in the midst of their labours, which gave expression to the Targum against the Hebrew text; sometimes, indeed, they endeavoured to reconcile the reading of the Hebrew text with the expression of the Targumim by a deliberate alteration; sometimes because the sense of their church version was more familiar to them than that of the Hebrew text, sometimes because both were written by them verse-wise immediately after one another.

Ps. liv. 5, Luther in his edition read גָּדוּם 'proud people,'

instead of זרים ‘feroigners,’ as the Chaldean only has it ; hence this edition, or the manuscript which was its basis, seems to have been altered from the Targum. Joel ii. 23, ‘בְּרָאשׁוֹן’ ‘as formerly,’ which the LXX and cod. 335 have, is perhaps to be preferred to בְּרָאשׁוֹן ‘in the first month,’ which has probably become the prevailing reading only by means of the Chaldean. See sec. 134, 218.

In like manner also readings in the text of the Bible emanated from certain explanations usual among the Jews (Perushim) either because they had them in their minds at the time of copying, or they were found by them in the margin of the manuscript which was the subject of their labours.

5 Book Moses xxvii. 26, את דברי is cited Gal. iii. with a נל, πασιν, which is wanting in the present editions. But נל was found by Kennicott in four Hebrew and in numerous Chaldean manuscripts (Kennicott, ‘Dissert Gen.’ sec. 84. 3), into which, according to the opinion of Bruns (in the ‘Repert. for Bibl. and East. Lit.’ Part xv. sec. 171) it came from the Perushim : ‘The reading,’ says he, ‘may have come so much the more readily into the Hebrew and Chaldean manuscripts as R. Bechai and Rashi certainly, and perhaps other Jews, will have this curse extended to all the commands of the Law.’ 5 Book Moses xxviii. 3, one codex of Kennicott’s reads instead of ממויר respecting which Bruns, in the passage quoted from the ‘Repertory,’ remarks : ‘Michaelis wished to find this reading, and Dathe found it, but Rambam explains this word by dividing it מום זר (see Mendelssohn’s version, with a Rabbinical commentary, and Vogel upon this passage). And the Jewish explication mentioned floated in the thoughts of the Jew who wrote מומויר instead of ממויר.’ Codex 345 appears, 1 Book Moses xiv. 20, to have had אברם מעשר according to a usual Jewish interpretation, that Abraham gave tithes to Melchizedek, as Hebr. vii. 4 ; Rashi says ויתן לו אברם מעשר ‘et dedit ei Abraham decimas.’ Bruns ad

'Kennicotti Dissert. Gener.' sec. 31. Cod. 507, 5 Book Moses xxxii. 43, has אָתְּ עַמּוֹ ; and since it is a German manuscript Rashi's interpretation was in the mind of the copyist, לִיאָתִי הַזָּמֵן יִשְׁבָּחוּ אֲוֹמָות אֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל Israelem gentes,' which led him to אָתְּ עַמּוֹ. Bruns ad 'Kennicotti Diss. Gener.' sec. 84. 5, p. 196. Compare the quotation, Rom. xv. 10.

Finally, that, since the rise of a system of Hebrew grammar, learned Jews have taken the liberty in the case of deviations from their rules to make alterations, and to introduce constructions and forms more regular, will further on be supported with examples (sec. 135).

SECTION 95 C.—*Fifth Source: Conjectures ex Ingenio.*

Some writings of the Old Testament appear to have come into the hands of the compilers in very faded copies; and many gaps and irreparably injured passages, with respect to which the ancient translators as well as the latest interpreters appear to have been equally at a loss, are derived probably from such exemplars. The compilers of our canon read and guessed to the best of their ability; but what was quite lost was beyond their means to restore, since their labours in this regard were scarcely guided by a miraculous leading of the Deity.

In the following centuries the transcribers were in the same difficulty, and the illegible text was restored by them as seemed best to their judgment, and with as much acuteness and conjectural talent as they possessed. Since they did not always hit the mark, variations unavoidably arose between a copy containing such conjectures and other exemplars.

Kommershausen, in his 'Introduction to the Old Testament,' sec. 153, has an example which I will here give in his words :

'The Syrian (and the old versions are as good as manuscripts, for the versions show evidently what their readings were) varies in the Books of the Chronicles very abundantly from the Hebrew text. A plain example is to be found 2 Chron. i. 15. Here in the Hebrew it runs : "Et fecit rex Salomon argentum et aurum Hierosolymis ut lapides, et cedros dedit ut sycomoros, **בשכמים**, quæ in planicie sunt innumeræ." But the Syrian has it : "Et cedros dedit *ut arenam* quæ ad littus maris copia summa." Instead of שְׁקָמִים he has *arenam*; שְׁקָם can never mean *arenam*. But did he read it differently? Perhaps חַוֵּל instead of שְׁקָמִים? That is incredible, for the two words have no resemblance. One can scarcely see the possibility how חַוֵּל should come out of שְׁקָמִים or the contrary. Much more likely is it that a very ancient manuscript lay before the Syrian translator of the Books of Chronicles, from whence he made his version. This old manuscript had many holes. This also happened in our passage. The Syrian, doubtless, found in his Hebrew manuscript : **אֲשֶׁר** "et cedros dedit tanquam . . ." (he took from the sea-shore); sand, therefore, which is countless, naturally occurred to him. He filled up the gap and threw in sand; now it would be absurd to hold up this as a various reading. It is merely a mistake of the Syrian, a bad guess.'

SECTION 95 D.—*Sixth Source: Deliberate Corruption.*

Little cause as there exists to call into doubt the evidence of Josephus as to the high reverence with which the Jews were accustomed to deal with their sacred national books; small as down to his time the alterations they may have ventured on either as to diminutions or additions; and evident as the traces are, after his time, of the transcription of their sacred books by them with the most anxious honesty, the inference will nevertheless only be that deliberate changes were never carried to excess; and the conjecture will not be destroyed, that

individual Jews for private ends may have made alterations in single passages. In the meantime, however, I am aware of only two passages where this accusation against the Jews will lie. Ps. xxii. 17, בָּאֵרִי seems to have been written by them for the purpose of removing the striking similarity between the death of Christ and this passage; and Is. xix. 19 was probably interpolated by the Egyptian Jews for the purpose of having something concerning a temple at Leontopolis to be found in Isaiah.

SECTION 95 E.—*Seventh Source : Transposition of Single Words and Entire Sections.*

In still-existing manuscripts of the Hebrew text instances enough are to be found of the transposition of longer and shorter sections and detached words, by the negligence of transcribers, of which marginal notices are often given by them.¹ And faults of this kind were committed in the oldest times, as the passages show, where, however evident the transpositions may be, still every trace of a pre-existing different arrangement has vanished.

Job xl. 32—xli. 3 may afford an example, of which passage many reasons may be adduced to show that it now fills a false place and ought to conclude chap. xli. But no trace of this transposition is held out by any ancient version. Is. xxxviii.

¹ Codex 437, by the side of Ps. lvi. is written שְׁבַחֲתֵי לְכַתּוֹב וְזֶה מִזְמּוֹר לְמִנְצָחָה עַל יְוָנָת אֱלֹם וְכַתְבָתֵּי אָוֹתוֹ בְּחַשְׁבוֹן סָא סָד מִסְפָּר חִילִים ‘Oblitus sum scribere hunc Psalmum lvi., eumque scripsi numero alias ordinis’ (sc. lxiv.) ‘libri Psalmorum.’ And on the margin of the 55th Psalm, which was written after the 63rd, the scribe again remarks זֶה הַמִּזְמּוֹר קָוְרֵין אָוֹתוֹ לְאַחֲרָה לְמִנְצָחָה בְּגִנְיוֹת מִשְׁכֵל לְדוֹד שְׁהָיָא כַּתּוֹב לְבָ' מְל' ‘Hunc Psalmum legunt post, qui incipit hoc signatur numero lv.,’ and at the end of the Psalm ‘בְּחַשְׁבוֹן נָה הַמִּזְמּוֹר שְׁשִׁבְחָתֵי,’ ‘Hic est Psalmus quem oblitus sum scribere supra numero lvi.’ Compare Bruns ad Kennicot. *Dissert. General.* § 23.

21, 22 is evidently in a wrong place (sec. 93). I pass over the transpositions in Jeremiah and many not improbable instances adduced by Kennicott in ‘Dissert. Gen.’ (sec. 22, 23, 71).

SECTION 96.—*Eighth Source : False Sight.*

1. Certain consonants of the Hebrew square alphabet, in manuscripts, and even in our oldest Bible editions, which follow the type of the manuscripts very closely, look so like one another as to be very difficult of distinction, especially if without points. **נ** and **נ** for instance, can often only be distinguished by the help of the Dagesh *lene* and Raphe, and **ב** and **ב** not at all. Hence consonants, related to each other merely by the figure, are exchanged in numberless places.

2. Others, however, have acquired only an accidental resemblance, sometimes through an irregular stroke of a transcriber, sometimes by the extinction of a stroke, sometimes by the unskilful renovation of a faded text, or by some accident fitted to deform a letter.

Without pretending to completeness, which would be only possible in a space of ten years, I will bring the changes of this sort into an alphabetical list, and for this purpose cite chiefly the variations to be found in every edition of the Bible, Keri and Chetiv, that each person, without the aid of Polyglot and Kennicott, may satisfy himself respecting their permutations. Quotations from other sources will be particularly noted.

ב for **נ**, Jos. xv. 47 ; Nehem. vii. 34, Hebr. 254, LXX 252. So **ב**, 2, **נ**, 4, are interchanged 1 Kings vii. 15, Hebr. 12, LXX 14 ; Esther iii. 7, Hebr. 12, LXX 14, both times **ב**, 2 interchanges with **נ**, 4.

ב with **ב**, Jos. vi. 5 ; 1 Sam. xi. 16 ; 2 Sam. v. 24, xii. 31 ; 2 Kings iii. 24 ; Prov. xxi. 29 ; Ezr. viii. 14 ; Nehem. iii. 20 ;

Ps. lxxviii. 69, Hebr. בָּאָרֶץ, LXX, the Arabian, Vulgate, Itala, the Syrian, editions and manuscripts, on the other hand, בָּאָרֵץ.

ב with ר Ezekiel iii. 15.

ג with י 4 Book Moses iii. 28, where perhaps, on account of the sum total in ver. 39, שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת ought to stand, instead of שְׁשׁ מֵאוֹת, so that ג 3, and י 6, seem to have been exchanged, as 2 Chron. iii. 16, many manuscripts have שׁ instead of שְׁלֹשׁ.

ג for י, Ezekiel xxv. 7; 2 Sam. xxiv. 13, or י, LXX τριαντη, as 1 Chron. xxi. 12, or ג, 3.

ד exchanged with ב, see above ב with ד.

ד with ה, see below ה with ד.

ד with י 1 Kings xiii. 33; 1 Sam. xvi. 4, Hebr. 6 י, LXX and Josephus ('Antiq.' vi. 9. 1) 4, ד.

ד with ר, 2 Kings xvi. 6; Proverbs xix. 19; 1 Sam. iv. 13; 2 Sam. xiii. 37; Jerem. ii. 20; the great Masorah being compared with Jerem. xxxi. Ps. xix. 14, Hebr. מַזְרִים, LXX ἀποδλοτριῶν.

ד with ת, 1 Kings xix. 4; 2 Sam. xxiii. 8; Is. lxvi. 17.

ה with ד, Jerem. xxii. 6, ii. 14, 15.

ה with ח, Proverbs xx. 21; 2 Sam. xiii. 37; Daniel ix. 24; 2 Kings xx. 21; Song of Songs i. 17, where the Masora is to be looked into. See also Hieronym. 'Quæstiones in Genesin,' xiv. 5.

ה with ב, Jerem. xxi. 12, xlvi. 30.

ה with מ or ט, Is. xxx. 32; 2 Kings viii. 17; 2 Sam. xiii. 13.

ה with ת, Jer. xxviii. 1, xlvi. 25, lii. 21; 2 Kings xxiv. 14, xxv. 17.

ה with ג, Proverbs xxv. 20.

ה with גה, 2 Kings xvii. 31.

ה with ש, Is. xvi. 9, הידר, instead of which the Chaldean and Jerem. xlvi. 42 have שדר.

ו with ג, see above ג with ו.

ו with ד, see above ד with ו.

ו with י, see below י with ו.

ו with י, in numberless places; for instance, Jerem. vi. 25; Josh. vi. 9; Ps. lxxi. 20, &c.

נ with **ה**, see above **ה** with **נ**.

גְּהָ with **חִי**, see above **חִי** with **גְּהָ**.

נְ with **גּ**, see above **גּ** with **נְ**.

לְ with **נּ**, 2 Sam. vi. 13, Hebr. 6, **לְ** LXX and Vulgate 7, **לְ**; Malachi i. 6, Hebr. 70, Vulgate and Chaldean **בְּנֵי**, but the Syrian **בְּנֵי**.

לְ with **בּ**, 1 Kings xvi. 29, Hebr. 38, **לְחָ** LXX only 2, because 30, **לְ**, in their manuscript had disappeared; 2 Sam. xxiv, LXX **תְּחִתִּים**, LXX **θαβασων**.

חְ with **הָ**, see above **הָ** with **חְ**.

חְ with **תָּ**, Ps. xviii. 35, Hebr. **נְחַתָּה**, LXX, on the other hand, Vulgate and Jerome **נְתַחַתָּה**.

טְ with **שָׁ**, 1 Sam. xiv. 32.

רְ with **נּ**, see above **נּ** with **רְ**.

לְ with **לּ** when **לְ** in being copied was made too large, 1 Sam. xv. 4, Hebr. 10,000, **לְ**, but LXX 30,000, . . . **לְ**.

לְ with **עָ**, Esther ix. 15, Hebr. 75,000, . . . **עָ**, but LXX 15,000, . . . **יָהָ**.

בְּ with **בּ**, see above **בּ** with **בְּ**.

בְּ with **חָ**, see above **חָ** with **בְּ**.

כְּ with **מָ**, 1 Sam. iv. 18, Hebr. 40, **מָ**, but LXX 20, **כְּ**: further, 2 Chron. xxii. 2, Hebr. 42, LXX 20 (perhaps 22), and **מָ**, 40, **כְּ**, 20.

כְּ with **גָּ**, Ezek. xxvii. 7, Hebr. **נֶסֶת**, LXX **כְּמָ**, compare Clericus on 2 Book Moses xvii. 16, and Cappellus on Is. xxxiii. 2; 1 Chron. xv. 6, some have 20, **כְּ**, others 50, **גָּ**.

כְּ with **פָּ**, 1 Kings xii. 21, Hebr. 180,000, LXX, on the contrary, 120,000 (**פָּ** 80; **כְּ**, 20); 1 Sam. xix. 22, Hebr. **שְׁבוּלָה**, LXX **σεφι**, **שְׁפֹוּ**.

לְ with **יָ**, 1 Sam. xix. 22, Hebr. the number 30, **לְ**, LXX with Josephus ('Antiq.' vi. 4. 1) 70, **יָ**; 2 Sam. vi. 1, Hebr. 30,000, **לְ**, but LXX 70,000, **יָ**; 2 Kings xxiii. 8, LXX **גְּבֻעָה**, **גְּבֻעָה**; 1 Kings vii. 21, LXX **βολωξ**; 1 Sam. viii. 18, LXX **γαβαε**, as 1 Sam. xiv. 5 is written by them **גְּבֻעָה**.

מְ with **הָ**, see **הָ** with **מְ**.

מְ with **בָּ**, see **בָּ** with **מְ**.

ט with **ט**, Is. lxiv. 4, see below sec. 97.

ט or **ט** with **כ** or **ך**, 1 Kings i. 47.

ט or **ט** with **נו**, Jos. v. 1, Is. xxxiii. 2, Hebr. זְרֻעָם ; on the contrary, according to the context, the Vulgate, the Syrian, the Chaldean זְרַעֲנוּ. Ps. xii. 8, Hebr. תִשְׁמַרְתִּי ; on the contrary, according to the context, LXX, Vulg., Arabian תִשְׁמַרְנוּ ; and immediately after again Hebr. תִצְרְנוּ, Chald. תִצְרָם. Similar cases see Is. x. 9 ; Ps. lxxx. 7 ; Ps. lxiv. 6, with the Syrian ; Ps. lxxx. 7, with the LXX and Syrian.

וי with **ו**, Ps. xi. 1, Hebr. הַרְכֵם ; on the other hand, the context, LXX, Aquila, the Syrian, the Chaldean, the Vulgate קָרְבָּמוֹ ; in the same manner, according to some interpreters, Is. xxxiii. 11, instead of רַוְחַכְמָוֹן, רַוְחַכְמָמוֹן is to be read.

ם with **ף**, see below **ף** with **ם**.

ם with **ש**, see below **ש** with **ם**.

ם with **ת**, see below **ת** with **ם**.

ג with **כ**, see above **כ** with **ג**.

ג with **ג**, 2 Kings vi. 25, Hebr. 80, ג, LXX 50, ג.

ע with **ו**, see above **ו** with **ע**.

ע with **ל**, see above **ל** with **ע**.

ע with **צ**, 2 Kings xx. 4 ; see below **צ** with **ע**, and sec. 97.

פ with **כ**, see above **כ** with **פ**.

פ with **ט**, see above **ט** with **פ**.

פ with **נ**, see above **נ** with **פ**.

ף with **ם**, 1 Chron. xii. 35, Hebr. 28, 600, LXX 28, 800 (ם 600, פ 800) ; Nehem. vii. 11, Hebr. 2,818, but LXX 2,618 according to the first recited permutation ; 1 Chron. ii. 51, Hebr. חַרְף, LXX ἀριμ.

צ with **ע**, see above **ע** with **צ** ; 1 Sam. iv. 15, Hebr. 98, the Syrian and Arabian 78 (70 ע, 90 צ).

ר with **ר**, see below **ר** with **ר**.

ר with **ת**, 1 Kings ix. 28, Hebr. 400, ת, but LXX 100, ר ; 1 Sam. xxii. 5, Hebr. חַרְתִּי, LXX σαρπικ.

ר with **ב**, see above **ב** with **ר**.

ר with **ך**, see above **ך** with **ר**.

ר with **ק**, 1 Sam. xviii. 27, Hebr. 200, ק LXX 100, ק.

ר with ת, Ezr. ii. 28, Hebr. 200, ר LXX 400, ת ; 1 Chron. i. 51, יתְהַ, LXX *ἰεθέρ*, compare iv. 17 ; 2 Sam. xi. 3, xii. 24, Hebr. בְתִשְׁבָע, LXX *βηρ-σαβεε* ; 2 Sam. xx. 14, 15, Hebr. בֵית מִעֵכָה, LXX *φερμακα*.

ש with ה, see above ה with ש.

ש with מ, 1 Kings v. 16, Hebr. 300, ש LXX 600, מ ; 1 Sam. xi. 8, Hebr. 300,000, LXX 600,000, so 300, ש, and 600, מ, are changed ; 1 Kings x. 16, Hebr. and LXX differ again about this number.

ת with ר, see above ר with ת.

ת with ח, see above ח with ת.

ת with מ, 1 Sam. xxiii. 13, Hebr. 600, מ LXX ת, 400.

ת with נ, 1 Chron. xi. 18.

ת with כ, see above כ with ת.

ת with ר, see above ר with ת.

ת with ת, Ps. xvi. 6, Hebr. נְחַלֶת, LXX, on the other hand, Vulgate, the Arabian, the Syrian, and our vowel-points זְמַרְתִי. Ps. cxviii. 14, Hebr. זְמֹרָת ; on the contrary, according to parallelism and the points זְמַרְתִי ; Is. xii. 2, Hebr. זְמֹרָת, LXX, Vulgate, Chaldean, Syrian, and the vowels זְמַרְתִי. Compare 2 Book Moses xv. 2, but see about זְמֹרָת sec. 102.

Let this list be compared with sec. 352.

3. Also some consonants easily escape the eye, from the smallness of their size, and are lost among their larger neighbours. Thus, ה, for instance, is frequently either lost or overlooked.

Esther ii. 39, Hebr. 1,017, LXX 1,007 ; the overlooked number 10 was not expressed in the Hebr. codex of the LXX by the word עשר, but by ה. Esther ix. 14, Haman, according to the Hebr. text, has 10 (ה) sons, the LXX leave the number out. Other examples of the kind have been already adduced (sec. 90. 2).¹

¹ For this section let a comparison be made with Faber's *Programs*, in which he shows 'literas olim pro vocibus in numerando a scriptoribus N. T. esse adhibitas.'

4. Yet with regard to this source of various readings we are not to dwell merely on the figures which now bear resemblance to one another in the Hebrew alphabet, especially if it be desired to throw light on the true origin of these variations, which are to be found already in the most ancient critical authorities. The figures of the Hebrew consonants underwent only some further slight change since the time of Jerome and of the Talmud; but in the centuries before their time consonants which now have nothing common in their features, bore great similarity to one another in figure, and were subjected to abundant permutation. Thus the exchange of אָבִן and אָבֵל interpreted already by Symmachus as 'Αβελ (1 Samuel vi. 18), admits of an easier explication by the Phoenician, Palmyrenean, and Samaritan alphabet, in which שׁ and בּ are similar, than from our square alphabet.¹

SECTION 97.—Ninth Source : False Hearing.

Some consonants of the Hebrews have a close alliance in sound and pronunciation; with regard to others a different pronunciation was possible; others, again, were unpronounceable by several sections of the Hebrew nation, from a defect in the organs of speech. To the first class belonged שׁ, נׁ and בׁ, and the like; to the second, יׁ, which was sometimes pronounced like the ئ of the Arabians, and sometimes like the ؤ; and hence, also, sometimes expressed by the Greeks by γ; or also, to give another example, נׁ, which, according to the Syrian dialect, might be sounded between two vowels, like ئ. To the last class belonged the aspirate letters עַחַתָּא, which in the

¹ Kommershausen, *Introduction to the O. T.* § 151, 1 B. Moses xiv. 2, Hebr. קָרְבָּן, LXX. בָּלָע according to an easy exchange of בּ for יׁ in the Samaritan and Phoenician alphabet.

mouth of the Galilean and Samaritan all sounded like **שׁ**,¹ a fault from which also many Jews of another tribe were not quite free.

If now a transcriber read aloud to himself, or another to him, the text indistinctly, or with the faults before mentioned, changes of single consonants would necessarily take place in copying, and various readings of this kind be the result, of which here follow some examples taken from the sources in sec. 96 in alphabetical order.

שׁ with **וֹ**, between two vowels, according to the Syrian pronunciation, as **דָּוִינָן** with **דָּוִינָג** 1 Sam. xxii. 18, compare 22; Daniel ii. 38, iii. 32, vi. 26. **הַיּוֹצֵר** with **הַאֲזֵּר**, Zechar. xi. 13, in the same way as **וַיְאִצֵּר** is grown out of **וְאַכֵּר** Zech. iv. 2. See Christ. Bened. Michaelis, ‘Syriasmus,’ sec. 4, § 3, a.

שׁ with **עַ**, as **לְעַ** with **לָאַ**, Is. xxxvii. 9, compare 2 Kings xix. 9.

בּ with **וֹ**, both pronounced like V, as **רַבְּבָן** with **רַבְּבָנָן** Dan. vii. 10.

בּ with **מַ**, which with the Orientals must have had a great similarity in pronunciation, as Dibon and Dimon, **מִכְבָּר** and **מִכְמָר**, *rete*, Becca Mecca. Jos. iii. 16, xxiv. 15, iv. 18, vi. 15; Judges xix. 25; 2 Kings xxiii. 33, v. 12; 1 Sam. xi. 9; Dan. ix. 15, compare sec. 96. (Golius ad Alfragan v. Mecca.)

תּ with **תַּ** especially if **תּ**, having sometimes a hissing sound, is pronounced like **جَ** of the Arabians and **תַּ** (the English ‘th’) of the Hebrews : 1 Kings xix. 4. See also sec. 96.

וֹ with **בּ**, see above **בּ** with **וֹ**.

וֹ with **שַׁ**, Ps. lix. 10, Hebr. **אִשְׁמָרָה**; on the other hand, the LXX, Vulgate, Æthiopian, and Chaldean **אִזְמָרָתָה**.

חַ with **עַ**, Ps. xcvi. 12, Hebr. **וְרֻעַ**; LXX, on the contrary, Chaldean, manuscripts, &c., **וְרֻחַ** **חַרְבָּ** and **חַרְבָּ**, **עַרְבָּ**, Zeph. ii. 14, compare Is. xxxiv. 11.

¹ See Buxtorf, in *Lexico Chald.-Thalm.* s. v. **לִילְגָּלִיל**. Wetstein, *Ad Matth.* xxvi. 73.

מ with **ב**, see above **ב** with **מ**.

מ with **פ**, see above **ב** with **מ**. Is. lxv. 4; 1 Kings vi. 1, Hebr. 80, **פ**. LXX 40, **מ**. Jos. ix. 3, Hebr. **מצפה**, LXX **Μασσουμ** **מצמה**.

ו with **ח**, see above **ח** with **ו**.

ו with **צ**, which in the utterance of the Orientals must have been nearly allied, because in the Hebrew many words occur spelt with both **ו** and **צ**, as **רבע** and **רכץ**, **רעץ** and **רכץ**, and in the Syrian and Chaldean an **ו** is often found for the Hebrew **צ**, for instance **ארץ**, Chald. **ארעה**, Syrian **أَرْضًا**; 2 Kings xx. 4; 1 Kings iv. 14, **ארד**, **עָרֵד**, σαδδω ; 1 Chron. 4, **σωναν**.

פ with **מ**, see above **מ** with **פ**.

צ with **ו**, see above **ו** with **צ**.

ש with **נ**, see above **נ** with **ש**.

ת with **ד**, see above **ד** with **ת**.

Compare with this sec. 98, 352.

Generally speaking, the pronunciation of the transcriber, or, if he was dictated to, that of his reader, had a greater influence on the text which was being given than might be thought; it was the occasion of several words being thrown together into one, or of one being divided into several. In this manner, 4 Book Moses xxiii. 10, the single word **מי ספר** arose out of **טַקְפֶּר**. See Venema ad Malach. i. 13.

SECTION 98.—*Tenth Source : The Custom of Reading Different from what is Written.*

Many consonants of the Hebrew alphabet are incapable of pronunciation from their nature, as **נ** and the otiose final **ה**; or from carelessness or a quick utterance they are, as it were, swallowed; nay, even among the Jews cases occurred where, instead of the written word, quite a different word was read. If, then, copying took place

by the ear, how easily would consonants sometimes be omitted, sometimes entirely different words written !

יהוה interchanges endless times with אָדָנִי and sometimes with אלְהִים, because, instead of אָדָנִי, יהוה was always pronounced by the Jews, and in case of אָדָנִי being followed by אלְהִים, יהוה was the pronunciation. And this mutation is of remote antiquity. The LXX interpreters hence already express יהוה by Κύριος, and the Talmud speaks of such change as a matter quite established (Kiddushin, fol. 71 a, lin. 29 ; Pesachim, fol. 50, a ; Tychsen, ‘Tent.’ p. 288 ; Kennicott ‘Diss. Gen.’ sec. 25, fin.).

לְנִיד with לְנִיד, 2 Kings ix. 15, in some way after the Syrian pronunciation.

יְאַחֵל with יְאַחֵל, Is. xiii. 20, because it was perhaps usual to read יְאַחֵל after a Syrian pronunciation. יְאַחֵל is agreeable to parallelism, together with Symmachus, the Vulgate, Syrian, and Chaldean.

מִן בַּת מִבְטָח with בַּת מִבְטָח, Lament. i. 6.

אֲפָה with אֲפָה.

בְּךָ בְּכָה with בְּכָה. Compare with this sec. 99, 352.

SECTION 99.—Eleventh Source : Faults from Memory.

Transcribers who copied not letter by letter mechanically, but grasped whole sentences and lines in their memories and then wrote them down, must at times, through a fault in their retentiveness, have exchanged words of like signification for one another. The same thing would happen if a passage chanced to be known to them by heart, and they wrote rather from memory than from the manuscript lying before them.

Judaicum ediscunt et servant et metuunt jus,

Tradidit arcano quodcunque volumine Moses.

Juvenal, xiv. 101.

בְּלֹא תִשׁוֹב : 5 Book Moses xxiv. 19, ‘Tract. Peah.’

c. vi. s. 4; our editions, on the contrary, לְאַחֲרָבֶן. So also בְּלֹא with לְאַל : 3 Book Moses xxv. 36, 'Bava Mezia,' c. v. sec. 11, בְּלֹתְקָרָה ; the printed editions לְאַל תִּקְרַב.

לְאַל with אַת.

לְ with לְאַל.

מְנֻן with מְ.

הַמְמֻם with הַמְמָם, 2 Sam. xxi. 9.

הַנְּהָה with הַנְּהָה, Is. liv. 16.

וַיִּדְבֵּר the Oriental and the Western manuscripts, 2 Kings i. 10.

with יְהֹוָה אָדָנִי, of which an instance occurs already in the Talmud. 'Tract. Berachoth,' c. vii. sec. 3 has, Ps. lxviii. 27, יְהֹוָה instead of the printed אָדָנִי. See another example in the edition of Hoog, Ps. lxxxvi. 3. And in the same way these words vary in the Eastern and Western manuscripts, Lam. v. 22. Vogel on 'Cappelli Critica Sacra,' pp. 30–51, has gathered sufficient evidence on this point. Compare also sec. 93.

SECTION 100.—Twelfth Source: Arbitrary Use of the Matres Lectionis.

The use of the guides to reading, , and , depended entirely on the pleasure of the transcribers. Hence in their respects manuscripts differ so abundantly from one another, that the half of Kennicott's collection of variations consists in a notice of the *plenarum* and *defectivarum*. Still the transcribers have seldom introduced more than two *matres lectionis* into a word susceptible of a greater number; only the introduction or omission of the *matres lectionis* into any passage seems to have been left to their discretion.¹

¹ Vogel, *Dissertatio de Matribus Lectionis Librariorum Arbitrio olim relictis*, which as to the chief matters is repeated in Cappelli *Critica Sacra*, p. 53; Michaelis, *Orient. Libr.* Part ii. 237, 238; xii. § 109; xiii. § 210; xviii. § 119; xx. § 97.

SECTION 101.—Thirteenth Source: An Acquaintance with other Oriental Dialects.

If a transcriber were intimate with other Eastern dialects, he carried the orthography as well as the words, with which from them he was more familiar, into his copy of the Hebrew Bible.

תְּאֵת for אַתָּה is often found in manuscripts.

וְ as the sign of a vowel, as תְּיֻשָּׁה instead of תִּיעַשָּׁה, 2 Book Moses xxv. 31, חֲסִידָךְ instead of חֲסִידֶךָ, Ps. xvi. 10, both according to a Chaldean Rabbinical orthography. 'Rept. for Bibl. and East. Lit.' Part i. sec. 170; Part v. sec. 137.

אֲ after וְ in the third person of the preterite plural, as אֲבֹא instead of הַחֲלִכּוֹא, אֲבוֹ, Is. xxviii. 12; instead of הַחֲלִכּוֹ, Jos. x. 24, after an Arabian orthography. Also קָם (قام), Hos. 14, is an Arabism.

וְ, according to a Chaldean fashion placed after the feminine termination of the second person feminine of the personal pronoun, and of the preterite and participle. Jer. x. 17, Ceth. Keri, יְוִשְׁבָתִי; Jer. iii. 5, xiii. 21, &c. This orthography is probably to be placed to the account of the copyists almost always in old books, as in Micah, where for instance הַתִּפְלִשְׁתִּי must be read (as the marginal notice, which is merely an exegetical scholium, however, says), and iv. 13, וְקַחְרְמָתִי.

SECTION 102.—Fourteenth Source: False Solution of the Abbreviations.

In our still extant manuscripts, with regard to certain words, and those which are also of frequent occurrence, abbreviations are not altogether unusual; also in the oldest Bible editions, which follow closely the arrangement of the manuscripts, many words are found abridged. Is it not

probable that in the most ancient times such abbreviations of words were customary, and that thence, either by a false explanation of them or an entire omission thereof, various readings sprang up? At least by this hypothesis the rise of many variations admits of a natural explanation. (See above, sec. 90.)

ע from עיר, Josh. viii. 16, Ker. and Keth.

ח and חיל, 2 Sam. xxiii. 20, K. and Keth.

אש and אשר, 2 Sam. xxiii. 21, K. and Keth.

מני perhaps from מנין, Ps. xlvi. 9.

אנ (expressed already by the LXX) formed perhaps out of **הנִי**, Ps. lxix. 5.

אני from אָדָנִי, Ps. lxxxiv. 48.

בית אל perhaps from בֵּית יְהוָה, Amos v. 6. Venema 'In Psalmos,' t. i. p. 210.

בֵּית אֱלֹהִים perhaps from בֵּית אֱלֹהִים, Zech. vii. 2.

יב by itself, instead of יהוה, hence may come from בעבד if it were abbreviated by "בעבד יהוה. Symmachus, Is. xlvi. 19, has interpreted בעבד יהוה by δ δουλος μου. Kennicott, 'Dissert. Gen.' sec. 25, has still further instances of this abbreviation.

חמת יהוה, Jerem. vi. 11, was formerly written for the LXX translate θυμον μου. **שנאתה**, Ps. xxxi. 7, is interpreted by all the ancient translators and Cod. 170 by שנאת יהוה.

בראם צובח, 1 Book Kings ix. 18, perhaps from Compare 2 Chron. viii. 2, 3.

אוֹר for אָוֹר, Job xxii. 11, as still expressed by the LXX : το φως σοι σκοτος ἀπεβη.

ת was often abbreviated, as the above-cited examples (sec. 96) show. Either ' was attached to the upper stroke of the ת, as often occurs in manuscripts ; or perhaps, according to a trick of the Rabbins, placed within the belly of the ת, or מְרַחֵת was formerly written together in one word, with a Yod, and its duplication left to pronunciation. But the

pointers omitted the duplication, and as they divided the word into two, contrary to speech, parallelism, &c., they wrote זָמְרָת יְהֻ.¹

SECTION 103.—*Fifteenth Source: False Division of Words.*

The old Hebrews wrote letter to letter, without any intervening spaces (sec. 73 f.). When afterwards the words were divided many mistakes were likely to occur, which probably thereafter admitted of discovery and correction. Now in some manuscripts the ancient errors were propagated, in others the amended text was adopted.

על מות instead of עַל מוֹת, Psalm xlvi. 15. The last reading is contained in many manuscripts and editions, and amongst the ancient ones the LXX, the Vulgate, and the Chaldean.

ידעת החור שחר, Kethib, and יְדֻעַת הַשָׁחֵר, Keri, Job xxxviii. 12; ישׁא מוֹת and ישׁא מָוֹת, or ישׁא מִשְׁמֹת, Psalm lv. 16, Ker. and Keth. In our Bible editions variations of the kind are found in the following places: 1 Chron. xxvii. 12; Judges xvi. 25; Lam. iv. 3, 16; 1 Chron. ix. 4; 1 Book Moses xxx. 11; Jeremiah vi. 29; Isaiah xliv. 24. And at רָתָא, 5 Book Moses xxxiii. 2, the lesser Masora remarks that in fifteen places two words are combined into one which require to be divided in reading.

זָמְרָת יְהֻ, the printed text; זָמְרָתִי יְהֻ, the old translators; Isaiah xii. 2, 2 Book Moses xv. 4; compare sec. 96, 102.²

¹ Stack, in *Odis Davidis*, t. i. p. 27, gathers many examples out of the old translations of the Psalms of misinterpreted abbreviations.

² See some further examples in Kennicott, *Dissert. General.* § 28.

SECTION 104.—*Sixteenth Source: Guardians of the Lines.*

The transcribers of the Hebrew Bible did not permit themselves the liberty of dividing words, and of writing in the following line such consonants as the previous one would not contain; but just as little did they allow themselves to leave a vacant space in any line. Now if at the end of a line a space still remained, but insufficient for the next word, the vacant space was filled at times with any consonants at pleasure, but in general with the initial letters of the next word, which, however, was written over again at full length in the next line. Supposing a transcriber to be inattentive to this arrangement, or too ignorant to recognise the ‘custos,’ he carried these mere stop-gaps into his new copy.

Thus, Isaiah xxxv. 1, יְשָׁוֹם מִדְבָּר has arisen from merely through a ‘custos;’ and perhaps Psalm ii. 7, רַנֵּי תִּצְרֹנִי, from a repetition of the last syllable of תִּצְרֹנִי.

On the other hand learned copyists thought sometimes to find such expletives where they did not exist, and left out words which belonged to the text.

Thus, 2 Book Moses xxxi. 9, כָּל (כָּל כָּל) is left out for כָּל (כָּל כָּל), because the copyists mistook it for a ‘custos.’ The Samaritan, LXX, the Syrian, Arabian, and Chaldean, according to a manuscript in the British Museum, express the כָּל. (Kennicott, ‘Dissertat. super Rat. Textus Hebr.’ sec. 177.)

SECTION 105.—*Seventeenth Source: ὄμοιοτελευτῶν.*

Moreover, in profane literature, it is sufficiently known that the recurrence of the same word is a manifold source of omission. And traces enough are to be found in the infancy of criticism of the Hebrew text.

... נִאָסְפּוּ שֶׁם לְמַלחָמָה וַיַּעֲלוּ יִשְׂרָאֵל : (10) הַזֹּאת קָם וַיַּךְ בְּפָלָשְׁתִּים עַד כִּי יִגְעַה יְדוֹ . (11) וַיַּאָסְפּוּ פָּלָשְׁתִּים לְחִיה לְמַלחָמָה יְתַהֵּי שֶׁם חֲלָקָת הַשְּׁדָה .

So formerly as to the chief matter stood 1 Chron. xi. 13. But the twice-recurring מלחמה has given occasion to a great omission. For now the passage is merely ... נִאָסְפּוּ שֶׁם לְמַלחָמָה וַתֵּהֵי חֲלָקָת הַשְּׁדָה (see 'Repert. for Bibl. and East. Lit.' Part ii. sec. 258 f.). So also Ps. xxxvii. 28, the first half of the verse, which should begin with ע, namely, יכרת, retained still by the LXX, Vulg., Arab., and Symmachus, has disappeared, because the so similar words עולמים נשמרו וזרע רשעים immediately preceded it. See 'Repert.' &c. Part vi. sec. 13. The two verses Jos. xxi. 36, 37 are both gone, because vers. 36 and 38 began with ומפתחה. After Jos. xv. 59, one verse, if not more, is omitted, occasioned by the constantly recurring וחריהם : compare the LXX. Similar instances occur, Judges xvi. 13 ; 2 Kings vii. 13, xxiii. 16.

SECTION 106.—*Eighteenth Source : Fondness for Beautifully-written Manuscripts.*

Finally a beautifully-written manuscript was a jewel in the eyes of the Hebrews, worthy of payment in solid gold. Hence the chief exertions of transcribers were directed rather to beauty of execution than fidelity to their exemplars, and crossings out were reluctantly made. If the scribe, however, were moved enough by conscience to make them, the strokes used were of so fine and somewhat embellishing a character, as easily to elude the eye of an inexperienced and not over-attentive copyist. Hence in very early times false readings appear to have arisen.

When, however, afterwards the Bible was supplied with points throughout, the punctuator came to the rescue, left false readings as well as improperly repeated words without points, and placed the improved readings, together with the omitted words, in smaller characters on

the margin. But this method—which was adopted in aid of the beauty of manuscripts—was not a convenient one. How easily, in the current of his work, might not the marginal insertion of the faulty or omitted word be forgotten by the punctuator; or if made, the small character, perhaps, of the consonants used, or their distance from the place of the omission, fail of their due impression ; in short, many an improved reading escape the view of an indifferent transcriber. Finally, since consonants and vowel-points were not written together, but each part separately, would not the transcriber's eye be of necessity principally fixed on the consonants ? How easy the oversight of the punctuator's mark of condemnation, consisting in the omitted addition of the vowel-points !

The preference for the external beauty of a manuscript undeformed by blottings must have appeared soon after the Babylonian captivity. For by the omissions of such cancellings the most ancient false readings were forced into the Hebrew text ; in this manner, perhaps, the repetition of וְהִרְאָה, Ps. lxv. 5, took place, which was expressed, however, already by the LXX and other ancient translators. From this source also I derive the explanation of the iteration of the two verses of Ezr. i. 1, 2, at the end of the Books of Chronicles (xxxvi. 22, 23). At first the author wished to make the history contained in Ezra a continuation of the Books of Chronicles ; but afterwards altered his mind and determined to make a separate work of it, when he had already commenced appending it to the Books of Chronicles. In order to avoid defacing his manuscript, he did not strike out the verses already written, but merely copied them afresh in his new roll.

SECTION 107.—*Alexandrian Version.*

After the collection of the writings of the Old Testament and their depositing in the Temple, history is silent concerning their fate for some hundreds of years. First

about the year 285 B.C., on the occasion of the preparation of the Alexandrian version, they came again into the light.

From this version it is clear that the Hebrew manuscripts from which it originated had been already deformed by allegorical crotchetts (sec. 95), but not yet supplied with points throughout; that they possessed neither separate words (sec. 73), nor division into verses (sec. 97), nor everywhere numeral words at length (sec. 90); but that they were written with consonants, which agreed for the most part in shape with our square alphabet, and in all the kinds of various readings which have been hitherto enumerated differed from our present text.¹

SECTION 108.—*Neglect of the Original Text.*

After the expiry of a century, the Alexandrian version had come into almost general esteem, not only in Egypt, but also in Palestine (sec. 166); reliance was placed on it alone, and the Hebrew text consequently almost entirely neglected. In order to justify this excessive use of the Septuagint, the fable was invented that the Holy Spirit rested on the translators in like manner as it had done on the original authors.

¹ The Tract. Megillah in the Babylonian Gemara, fol. 3, col. 1, speaks of thirteen passages, which (in a copy (or version?) made for Ptol. Philadelphus, of the Pentateuch) were intentionally altered. The passages require only to be read to exhibit tangibly the mixture of fables and errors. To save space I will not quote the entire long passage here. The meaning given to it by Ol. Gerb. Tychsen in the *Tentamen*, p. 48 ff., had received light from Michaelis in the *Orient. and Exegetical Bible*, Part v. § 41 ff. Dresde also, in his Essay *De locis 13 a Judæis in Codice Ebræo Ptolemæo regnante prætermissis* (in his *Triga Commentationum academicarum*), wished to elucidate the relations mentioned, but in the execution of his design proceeded no farther than the citation of the passage itself.

SECTION 109.—*New Testament: Philo and Josephus.*

Hence, with all authors at the time of the commencement of our Christian era who use the Old Testament, the Greek text of the LXX lies at the root, and not that of the Hebrews.

The New Testament quotes passages from the Old, commonly from the Greek version,¹ and the commentaries of Philo have reference always to its text. If he be in pursuit of emphases, he raises them not in Hebrew, but in Greek words. Josephus, finally, draws from it his entire Jewish history; and departs from it only in the article of chronology when the Hebrew suits his turn better than the Greek.²

Philo divides, after his Greek manuscript, Moses into five books (sec. 29); and since this division is probably as old as the Alexandrian version, it may be well imagined that it was so found by the translator in the Hebrew exemplar employed by him.

In Josephus' time it was customary to write the manuscripts of the Old Testament on parchment; also there existed at that time no law condemning manuscripts written on coloured parchment to the fire; for

¹ See Koppii *Norum Testam.* vol. iv. excurs. i. *ad Epist. ad Romanos*, where this is shown very clearly with regard to Paul's epistles. Of the quotations from Hosea this is shown by Steudlin in the *Aids for the Elucidation of the Bible Prophets*, Part i. § 129 ff. Cf. the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, and J. G. Eichorn's *General Libr. of Bibl. Lit.* Part ii. § 947 ff.

² Michaelis is strongly inclined for the opinion that Josephus used the Hebrew text in his historical works (that he was in possession even of the Temple copy; see above, § 91). Compare Michaelis, *East. and Exeget. Bibl.* Part v. in the supplement. Of most of the passages there quoted, Scharfenberg in *Prolusio de Josephi et Versionis Alexandrinae Consensu* (Leips. 1780, 4) has proved the contrary, namely, that the Greek version was their source. See below (§ 339 c.).

Josephus, in aid of the Alexandrian translators, causes a copy of the Pentateuch, together with the pseudo-Aristeus, to be made on coloured parchment in golden letters, as if no objections against such writing materials were entertained.¹ Finally, Josephus reckons four Hagiographa and thirteen Prophets (sec. 8), according to a classification peculiar to him, and which rested on a custom of his time, to refer all books which did not originate with poets—in the strictest sense of the word—to prophets.

SECTION 110.—*Restoration of the Study of the Original Text.*

Even after the birth of Christ, the excessive use of the Septuagint continued for some time, in the polemical strife between the Christians and Jews. Whereby the Jews, being generally the losers, came gradually to detest the Alexandrian version, and for that reason, as it seems, reverted to the study of the Hebrew language and the original text again. Now, amongst them new translators of the Bible arose, and the Christians, not to be behind them, laboured also in the production of new versions. This was the immediate cause of the labours of an Aquila, Symmachus, Theodosian, and the other Greeks with whom we are still acquainted through the medium of Hexaplarian fragments.

SECTION 111.—*Corruptions of the Original Text by the Jews.*

About this time the Jews must have deliberately falsified their sacred national writings, if this reproach so often cast against them have any possible foundation. But how is it to be reconciled with the high reverence they are alleged to have entertained towards them (sec. 40, 57) ?

1. Before the birth of Christ they undertook no delibe-

¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* lib. xii. c. 2, § 11.

rate corruptions of the original text, certainly; for they had no motive so to do.¹ The Palestinian Jews were reproached, however, with having, before the birth of Christ, 5 B. Moses xxvii. 4, changed Gerizim into Ebal,² and Is. xix. 18, שָׁעַר הַהֶּרְם (urbs solis) into עִיר הַהֶּרְם (urbs perditionis); the first out of hatred to the Samaritans, in order that the curse uttered should fall upon Gerizim, the temple-hill of the Samaritans; the second from hostility to their Egyptian brethren, to slur the city in which stood the temple of the Egyptian Jews.³ But their innocence is evident. On the mountain where the Jewish people swore to the Law with cursings and sacrifices, the altar behoved to be erected. This was the hill Ebal, and upon it the Hebrew Jewish text makes the altar rightly to have been built. On the other hand, upon the hill Gerizim, upon which the Samaritan text makes the erection of the altar, and over which a blessing had been spoken—for the people swore not there with sacrifices, but answered only Amen—no altar was to be expected.⁴ And in the second place, a wilful alteration from hate to the Egyptian Jews is still less to be imagined, for עִיר הַהֶּרְם is a literal translation of Leontopolis,⁵ where the Jewish temple in Egypt was built.⁶

2. After the birth of Christ the polemical rage of the

¹ Even if Is. xix. 18, שָׁעַר הַהֶּרְם יִאַמֵּר לְאַחֲת should be false, still the words certainly did not come into the text by an intentional corruption.

² Kennicott, *Dissert.* ii. c. 1, the Lat. Edit.

³ Starkii *Carmina Davidis*, t. i. p. 9.

⁴ Verschuir, ‘Dissert. critica, qua lectio Hebræi codicis in loco celebri Deuter. xxvii. 4, defenditur,’ in his *Dissertationes Philologicoexegeticae*. Leovard and France, 1773, n. 3.

⁵ Item in *Dissert. de עִיר הַהֶּרְם in dissertationibus philologico-theologicis*, n. 19.

⁶ Josephi *Antiq. Jud.* lib. xiii. c. 3. Compare Christian Müller, *Satura Observationum philologicarum*, p. 65. هرس signifies in Arabic a lion.

Jews might have seduced them to corrupt passages used by the Christians, in their disputes with them respecting the already appeared Messiah, as proofs, in order to prevent their being employed as such altogether, or at least for the Christians. But then (1) they must have been devoid of all understanding to change only the places which speak in the least decisive way concerning the Messiah, and to leave the most evident ones unaltered. (2) And if the examination into the passages be proceeded with, by which hitherto this accusation has been supported, the appearances will admit of a much more natural explanation without this supposition.¹ (3) Finally, the Church Fathers, by whom these charges of falsifications are cast upon them, impute to them always the corruption of the Septuagint, and never of the original Hebrew text. If now it be wished to support these accusations, which have not hitherto been sufficiently proved, and to infer from their alleged dealings with the Septuagint some similar conduct with regard to the original text—what a leap, and withal then merely a bare possibility!

SECTION 112.—*Hebrew-Greek Manuscripts.*

About this time also the Christians began to apply themselves to the study of the Bible in the original. After the death of the Hebrew tongue even the Jews encountered difficulties sufficiently great in learning to read the Hebrew Bible not supplied with points throughout;

¹ *General German Libr.* B. 35, § 72; compare Starkii *Carmina Davidis*, l. c. The only passage where with any grounds an intentional change for the purpose of depriving the Christians of a prediction of the Messiah can be imagined is Ps. xxii. 17, in כָּרִי. But this reading has been condemned by the most learned Jews, and the admission made that they themselves have retained כָּרוֹן in the Masora as the better reading. Kennicott, in *Dissert. Gener.*, is, however, still for intentional corruptions of the Jews in many places.

but to them they were lightened by means of their mother-speech, the Syro-Chaldean. But for the Christians, who understood no Chaldean, these difficulties were multiplied a thousandfold. To lessen these, it seems, Hebrew Bibles written in Greek letters, or Codices Ebraeo-Græci, were prepared. Hitherto this meritorious service has been attributed to Origen; but a modern scholar has attempted to prove that Codices Ebraeo-Græci are older than Origen.¹

Since the transcription of the Hebrew text in Greek character was accompanied with many difficulties, the Alexandrian version was abundantly used in his labours by the inventor of the Hebrew-Greek copy as a commentary. Hence, for instance, Ps. cx. 3, he writes, Μηρεμ μεσσααρ λακ θαλ ιελεδεθεχ, that is, תְּלִילְתָּךְ מִשְׁתָּר לְךָ מְרַחֵם, because the LXX had rendered ἐκ γαστρος προ ἔωσφορου ἐγενησασε מְרַחֵם מִשְׁתָּר יְלִילְתָּךְ.

SECTION 113.—*First Polyglot by Origen.*

About the year 231 the first Polyglot was prepared by Origen, and the first ground laid among Christians for the critical elaboration of the Bible on the best principles. His chief object, however, in this work was the critical elaboration of the Septuagint; of this, not of the Hebrew text, he made a new recension, and placed the Hebrew text in the first column of his Polyglot, only for the purpose of rendering more easy the comparison betwixt the ancient translators. And hence is wanting all information concerning the nature of his Hebrew text, and at present we can merely refer to the Codex of Jerome in order to ascertain the value of the Hebrew column in the Hexapla. But if the text of the Septuagint were brought nearer to its form in the Hexapla, that of itself would throw great

¹ See Ol. Gerb. Tychsen's first appendix to the free *Tentamen*, § 33 ff.

light on the quality of the Hexapla Hebrew text. For instance, Joshua xxi. 36, 37, in the Septuagint of the Hexapla was marked with an obelus, as Mansius in his Joshua remarks ; consequently both verses must have been wanting in the Hebrew text of the Hexapla, as in Jerome, the Masora, and many modern manuscripts. On the other hand, Ps. xviii. 14, בָּרוֹךְ וַנֵּחֶל אָשׁ stood in the Hexapla Hebrew text, because Origen, on the assurance of Jerome, substituted the Greek translation of these words with an asterisk in the Septuagint.¹

It is surprising, and, to most modern critics who are disposed to concede a greater worth than they really deserve to our still extant manuscripts, extremely offensive, to find the Hebrew-Greek column of the Hexapla and the Hebrew text used by Origen in his recension of the Alexandrinian revision, almost everywhere agreeing with the Masora, where by the more modern manuscripts it is deserted.

Proofs of this are afforded by all manuscripts of the Septuagint in which its Hexapla text has in any degree been correctly preserved. Bruns has often had occasion to make this remark in the ‘Curis Hexaplaribus in iv. Librum Regum’ (in the ‘Repert. for Bibl. and East. Lit.’ Part ix. c. 10). The following examples taken from his treatise will find their proper place here :—

2 Kings vi. 20, now ΠΡΕ ; many manuscripts add Ν, which Origen did not find there, hence he marks δη with an obelus.

¹ Here are some examples. Because Origen in his Hebrew, as in our Masoretical, text (1 B. Moses iv. 8) has nothing of the discourse between Cain and Abel, so he marks with an obelus the addition in the LXX ; Διελθωμεν εἰς το πεδιον ἐν τῷ Ἐβραϊκῷ οὐ γεγραπται, he writes, *Operum t. ii. p. 30.* Also he ‘obelises’ (quite agreeably to our Masoretical text) καὶ εἶδεν δ Θεος δτι καλον, which words cannot have stood originally in Moses. See the Primitive History in the *Repertorium for Bibl. and East. Lit.* Part iv. The great interpolation, 1 B. Sam. xvii., was already to be found in the Hebrew manuscript of Origen. Compare Kennicott, *Diss. Gener.* § 80. 2.

2 Kings viii. 5, the present Masoretical text, **הַחִיה אֶת הַמִּתְ**; a modern codex (n. 174) has **אֶת בְּנֵה הַמִּתְ**; Origen (according to the Masoretical text) has marked with an obelus *vion*.

2 Kings viii. 16, the Masorites **יְהִירָם**; the Ἐβρ. Ἰωαράμ (contrary to the Oriental reading **יְוֹרָם**, and which contradicts the Masorites).

2 Kings ix. 4, the Masor. text **וַיָּלֶךְ הַנֵּעֶר הַנְּבִיא**; some manuscripts leave the second out, which was, however, found by Origen.

2 Kings x. 1, the Mas. text **אֶלְחֹזְנִים**; some codd. **הַזְּקִנִּים**. Origen obelises *προς* (before *τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους*).

2 Kings x. 14, **וַיִּתְפְּשֻׂם חַיִּים** according to the Masora; some manuscripts leave the words out, because the same words recur: the Hebrew text of Origen has them. * *A, καὶ συνελαβούντο αὐτοὺς ζωντας.*

2 Kings xvi. 6, the Kethib **וְאַרְוָמִים** (the Syrian) confirms Origen in the Syro-Hexaplarian codex by **אַרְוָמִים**.

2 Kings xviii. 17, the words of the Masoretical text **וַיַּעֲלוּ וַיָּבֹאוּ**, which for many reasons there may be a disposition to hold as interpolated, are in Origen * *καὶ ἀνεβησαν καὶ ἤλθον καὶ ἐστησαν.*

2 Kings xix. 23, **אֲדֹנִי** of the Masorites is confirmed by Origen; on the other hand, many modern manuscripts have **יְהֹוָה**.

Moreover, the Hebrew-Greek column in the Hexapla was regarded as the most authentic and exact pattern of the Hebrew-Greek manuscripts, and when Jerome wished to obtain an exact text of the Hebrew-Greek transcript, he corrected his manuscript of it out of the Hexapla in the library at Cesarea.¹

¹ Hieronymi *Comment. in Titum* iii. 9.

SECTION 114.—Condition of the Hebrew Text between the Third and Sixth Century.—1. The Talmud.

About the middle of the third century we derive the information that in the manuscripts of the entire Old Testament the separate books followed each other exactly in the order in which we have them in our present Bible editions. The Talmud, for instance, which was compiled after the year 220, divides the whole collection into three parts, and enumerates eight Prophets and nine Hagiographa. But probably this arrangement is of much older date—older than the birth of Christ, and contemporary with the compilation of the Old Testament (sec. 7, 8); only we are deficient in express information on the subject from earlier times.

Calligraphical rules were also already laid down for transcribers, from whence it is as clear as the sun at noon-day, that the consonants at that time had already attained their complete present forms.¹

The Talmud forbids, in the process of transcription, the letters ב and ג and ד and ז and נ and כ and ה and ו, and ט and פ and מ and ס to be confounded together. Also it is acquainted with the final letters, and speaks of a double Mem (ם and מ). At that time also the Parashen were marked in the manuscripts, and divided into open and shut.²

¹ Tychsen, *Tentamen de variis Codicis hebraicorum V. T. generibus*, p. 18. In the Tract. Gittin it runs: לוקין ספרין מון הנכרים בכל מקום' כתוב שיחיו כתובין כהלכתן ומעש' בנכרי אחד בכתב בכתב' 'ספריים וחתייר ריש' בן ליקח ממנו strangers from all parts, if they are but written according to the Pattern. When formerly a stranger at Sidon wrote manuscripts, their purchase was permitted by R. Simeon, the son of Gamaliel.'

² See above, § 79. *Tract. Shabbath*, fol. 103, 2, lin. 33. Tychsen, *Tentamen*, p. 347. The passage then is as follows: וכתבת' שתהא

Also a classification of manuscripts is already ventured on by the Talmud, according to the different kinds of transcribers, and the materials with which, and upon which, the transcription was made, and the manuscripts of monks, Sadducees, proselytes, &c., written with gold and chequered colours, and on coloured parchment are rejected.¹ Only I am not aware whether one may venture to take for granted the real existence of all these kinds of manuscripts at that time. The verdicts quoted appear to me almost to belong to Talmudical casuistry, and as intended to condemn the described manuscripts, in case such should ever be prepared, to the fire, to the grave—in short, to annihilation.

SECTION 115.—*Critical Elaboration of the Bible by the Jews.*

The controversy with the Christians had brought the Jews again back to the study of the original text (sec. 110), and this roused the spirit of criticism amongst them. It is already told by the Talmud that the Jews collated manuscripts, and gave preference to the readings contained in the greater number of them. ‘Libri tres,’ it says, ‘inventi

כתיבה חמה שלא יכחו אלףין עיניין אלףין ביתין כפין נמיין צדיין
 צדיין נמיין דלתין רישין דלתין היהין חיתין היהין ווין יודין
 יודין ווין זיין נניין זיין טיתין פיפין טיתין בפופין פשוטין
 פשוטין כפיפין מימין סמכין מימין סתומין פתוחין סתומין
 פתוחה לא יעשה סתומה סתומה לא יעשה פתוחה
 manuscripts in a perfect manner care must be taken to write no אַ for
 אָ, and no עַ for אָ; no בַּ for בָּ; no גַּ for צָ, and no צַ for גָּ; no דַּ for רָ,
 and no רַ for דָּ; no חַ for חָ, and no חָ for חַ; no וִ for וֵ, and no וֵ for וִ;
 no זִ for זֵ, and no זֵ for זִ; no טַ for פָּ, and no פָּ for טַ; no crooked
 letters for straight; no מַ for סָ, and no סָ for מַ; no open Parash for
 a shut one, and no shut Parash for an open one.’

¹ Tychsen, *Tentamen*, p. 10.

² Talm. Hieros. *Tract. Taanith*, fol. 68, col. 1. The passage appears

sunt in atrio (templi), codex מעוני (cognominatus), codex הָיאּ, et codex זעטיטי. Quorum in uno invenerunt scriptum Deut. xxxiii. 27, in duobus autem scriptum erat ; confirmarunt duos codices (consentientes) et unicum rejicerunt. Similiter in uno invenerunt scriptum et misit זעטוטי, i.e. magnates filiorum Israel ; in duobus autem scriptum erat Exod. xxiv. 5, נְשָׁרִי, juvenes filiorum Israel ; confirmarunt igitur duos et unicum rejicerunt. Porro in unico invenerunt scriptum תְּשֵׁעַ הָיאּ, novem illa, in duobus autem scriptum erat אֶחָת עֲשָׂרָה, undecim illa, Genes. xxii. 23 ; quare duos ratos habuerunt et unicum rejecerunt.'

From such collations of manuscripts arose also the critical revisions of the Hebrew text mentioned in the Talmud.

SECTION 116.—*First Critical Revision of the Original Text : תיקון ספירים*, Correctio Scribarum.

The first of the revisions of the Hebrew text is called תיקון ספירים, *correctio scribarum*. Besides the Talmud, this is referred to by the Masora, and when by it spoken of in general the number of corrected passages is reckoned at eighteen ; but in the two places in 4 Book Moses i. 1 and Ps. cxi. 20, where they are enumerated, only sixteen of the eighteen passages promised are mentioned.

From the nature of the readings themselves, it is

in nearly the same words in the *Cod. Sopherim*, c. 6. According to the Crat. edit. it runs : נ' פרים מצאו בעורה ספר מעוני וספר זעטוטי וספר הָיאּ באחד מצאו כחוב מעו אלהי קדם ובשנים כחוב מעונה אלהי קדם וקיימו שנים וביטלו אחד ; באחד מצאו כחוב וישלח את זעטוטי בני ישראל ובשנים כחוב וישלח את נעריו בני ישראל וקיימו שנים וביטלו אחד ; ובאחד מצאו כחוב תשע הָיאּ ובשנים כחוב אחת עשרה הָיאּ ואחד. See Kennicott, *Dissert. Gener.* § 34.

evident that this recension had reference to a peculiar class of faults which by means of transcribers had crept into the text, and were discovered by the collation of manuscripts. For the readings preferred by the authors of this recension were already to be found with the old Alexandrian translators. The corrections themselves, thanks probably to the Masora, have been preserved down to our times. Here are some samples :—¹

*False Reading.**Correction of the Scribes.*

1 Book Moses xviii. 22, יְהוָה אֶבְרָהָם עַל־עַל	LXX, Vulg., Onkelos, Pseudo-Jonathan.
4 Book Moses xi. 15, בָּרָעִתִּי	according to the LXX, Vulg., Onkelos, Pseudo-Jonathan, and both Samaritans.
4 Book Moses xii. 12, אָמַנוּ and בְּשָׁרֵנוּ	as the LXX, Vulg., Onkelos, Pseudo-Jonathan, both Samaritans.
1 Samuel iii. 13, לֹא מַקְלִילִים לָהּם	as the LXX.

SECTION 117.—Second Revision : עטוֹר סְפִירִים, Ablatio Scribarum.

The Talmud, and after it the Masora, mentions another critical revision of the Bible, by the name of *עטוֹר סְפִירִים*, *ablatio scribarum*. This had reference, as may be seen from the examples still extant, merely to the extirpation of the binding particle ה in certain places where, in the judgment of the revisers, it required to be removed. The Masora remarks, however, on 1 Book Moses xviii. 5,

¹ All these passages are found collected in Morinus, *Exercitt. Bibl.* lib. ii. exerc. xii., and in the new Edit. of Cappelli *Critica Sacra*, Halæ, 1755, § 444 ff. Buxtorfii *Lex. Talm.* v. p. 2630. *תיקון*

that the *ablatio scribarum* applies to five passages; but nowhere enumerates them. They have been collected by Buxtorf out of the holes and corners of the Talmud and Masora, where they lay hid. They are the five following:—¹

<i>False Reading.</i>	<i>Ablatio Scribarum.</i>
1 Book Moses xviii. 5, וְאַחֲרֵי תְּעִבָּרוּ.	אַחֲרֵי תְּעִבָּרוּ, according to the lesser Masora.
1 Book Moses xxiv. 55, וְאַחֲרֵי תְּלַקֵּה.	אַחֲרֵי תְּלַקֵּה, as the lesser Masora.
4 Book Moses xii. 14, וְאַחֲרֵי תְּאַסֵּף, ‘Repert. for Bibl. and East. Lit.’ Part iii. sec. 116.	אַחֲרֵי תְּאַסֵּף, according to the Tract. Nedarrim, fol. 17, 2, and the Masora on Ps. xxxvi. 7, and yet our vulgar editions have וְאַחֲרֵי נוֹנָנִים.
Ps. lxviii. 26, וְאַחֲרֵי נוֹנָנִים. Ps. xxxvi. 7, וְמִשְׁפְּטֵיךְ.	אַחֲרֵי נוֹנָנִים. מִשְׁפְּטֵיךְ, according to the Masora.

SECTION 118.—*Third Revision: Puncta Extraordinaria.*

Farther, at the time of the Talmud, the extraordinary points in manuscripts were already to be found, with which, in our Bible editions and still extant manuscripts, and as to the latter even in the form of small lines, fifteen works are marked. They evidently do not belong to the diacritical marks of the Bible; their object must have been of a *critical* nature.

To distinguish by such points, words or letters suspected by criticism, is agreeable to analogy; for they are found employed even by Greek critics.² If, therefore, the

¹ *Tract. Nedarrim*, fol. 37, col. 2, l. 18. See Morini *Exercitt. Bibl.* lib. ii. exerc. xxii. c. 1, § 6, and the new edit. of Cappelli *Critica Sacra*, p. 443. Buxtorfi *Lex. Talmud.* v. עַטּוֹר, p. 1597.

² Blanchini *Evangeliar um IV.-plex*, t. i. vol. ii. p. 502.

passages be compared where these marks occur, this point is as good as decided. For either the words and letters so marked are even now condemned by critical witnesses, if not perhaps by the very same persons who took as their pattern the inventor of these points; or it is evident that they may be left out, without injury either to the connection or sense. And in the last case their sentence of condemnation has probably been pronounced by critical witnesses lost to our knowledge. Here are examples:—

Ps. xxvii. 19 נָלַל is wanting in the LXX, Vulgate, Arab., and the Syrian. Ezek. xli. 20, הַנִּצְבֵּה is wanting in the LXX (the Arabian, Vulgate), and the Syrian. 4 B. Moses iii. 39 צָהָרָן is wanting in both Samaritans and the Syrian. 4 B. Moses xxi. 30, אֲשֶׁר; and שָׁאַל without the ר is expressed by both the Samaritans and the Alexandrian. The other passages in which the marks of condemnation have not survived the hand of time are 1 B. Moses xvi. 5, xviii. 9, xix 33, xxxiii. 4, xxxvii. 12; 4 B. Moses ix. 10, xxix. 15; 5 B. Moses xxix. 28; 2 Sam. xix. 20; Is. xliv. 9; Ezek. xlvi. 22. See Hüpeden's new probable conjectures respecting the true cause and signification of the extraordinary points (Hanover, 1751. 4).

SECTION 119.—*Origin of the Kethib velo Keri and of the Keri velo Kethib.*

About this time also certain passages had been remarked by the Jews where, for the better illustration of the sense, a word might be inserted, and also others where, without injury to the sense, a word might be omitted. For the first class they prepared a suitable supplement, which they entitled Keri velo Kethib, i.e. a word which might be inserted (mentally), although not written in the text. On the other hand, the superfluous word of the second class was called by them Kethib velo Keri, i.e. a word, though to be found in the text, yet not necessary to

the sense, and capable of omission in the reading. Of the Keri velo Kethib, seven passages are noted by the Talmud, namely: 2 Sam. viii. 3, xvi. 23; Jer. xxxi. 38, l. 29; Ruth ii. 3, iii. 5, 17. On the other hand, only five of the Kethib velo Keri: namely, 2 Kings v. 18; 5 Book Moses vi. 1; Jer. li. 3; Ezek. xlviii. 16; Ruth iii. 12.¹ The words of the second class are, of course, to be found, since they were really in the text, even in the old translations, and in Jerome; on the other hand, of the first nothing is known by Jerome, a strong proof, as it appears to me, that the Keri velo Kethib in his time had not yet been added to the Bible, and that it was afterwards done by the Masorites.

SECTION 120.—*Keri and Kethib in the Talmud.*

The Talmudists also were acquainted with the double readings of at least some of the passages of the Old Testament preserved by the Masorites under the name Keri and Kethib; still the conclusion is not immediately to be drawn that they were marked also in the margin of their manuscripts. Thus, for instance, the Talmud cites Job xiii. 15, *הַנִּקְטָלֵי לוֹ אַיִחַל*, and immediately adds: ‘Pendet tamen adhuc res (in dubio), num (sensus sit) *ego sperabo* (*לוֹ אַיִחַל*), an vero *ego nons perabo*’ (*לֹא אַיִחַל*, as the Kethib purports.)²

As to the rest, the Talmud is divided between our Keri and Kethib; sometimes it has our text, sometimes our marginal readings; still the latter oftener than the former.

In the printed Mishna the Keri is first quoted: Sota, c. 5, sec. 5, Job xiii. 15, *לוֹ*; in the same, c. 7, sec. 6, יְרוּ, 3 Book Moses ix. 22; in the same, c. 9, sec. 6, and Mass. Tamid. c. 7, sec. 2, שְׁפָכוֹ, 5 Book Moses xx. 7 (English xxi. 5); Middoth,

¹ *Tract. Nedarim*, c. 5, fol. 37, p. 2.

² *Tract. Sota*, c. 5, § 5.

c. 3, sec. 1, וְהִיא־אָלֹּֽעַ, Ezek. xlivi. 16 ; in the same, c. 4, sec. 4, הַיְצֵּעַ, 1 Kings vi. 6; Jadaim, c. 4, sec. 4, כְּבִיר, Is. x. 13. (2) the Kethib, on the other hand, Berachot, c. 1, sec. 7, לְאַ, 2 Book Moses xxi. 8, as also Symmachus and Theodotion have it, but the LXX the Keri לְוּ ; Jadaim, c. 4, sec. 4, וְעַתִּידְתִּים, Is. x. 13.

At that time, finally, flourished in their golden age the allegorical interpreters of the Old Testament;¹ and if all such their allegorical chimeras were marked in the manuscripts themselves by signs and caricatured letters of all descriptions, numerous errors must have found their way into the Hebrew text by that means.

SECTION 121.—2. Jerome : *Critical Elaboration of the Hebrew Bible at Tiberias about the Year 400.*

But the critical labours of the Jews hitherto described were but the forerunners of the dawn which broke on Biblical criticism after the fifth century. At that time both Jews and Christians did good service in the cause. Tiberias was at that time in possession of the correctest manuscripts and the most enlightened critics. Hence, when Jerome was uncertain as to the accuracy of the text in the Book of Chronicles, and was desirous of obtaining an accurate text of them, particularly with regard to the *nomina propria*, before he proceeded to the correction of the old Latin version, he caused to come to him a Jew from Tiberias, collated with him the text from beginning to end, and then first began his version. ‘Cum a me,’ he writes in the preface to the Books of Chronicles, ‘nuper literis flagitassetis, ut vobis librum Paralipomenon latino sermone transferrem, de Tiberiade quemdam legis doctorem, qui apud Hebræos admira-

¹ See the passage in Tychsen, *Tentamen*, &c., p. 197 ff.; also above, § 98, where I have cited out of the Talmud instances of readings produced by means of the Midrashim.

tioni habebatur, assumpsi et contuli cum eo a vertice, ut aiunt, usque ad extremum unguem, et sic confirmatus ausus sum facere quod jubebatis.'

Amongst the Christians the Hebrew Bible was studied with the spirit of an Origen by Jerome; and he collated all the ancient Greek authors of versions, as the Jews at Tiberias did manuscripts. But since he had no imitators, the critical elaboration of the Hebrew Bible by Christians proved but a passing meteor.

SECTION 122.—*Nature of the Manuscripts at that time.*

Jerome, in his commentaries, lets fall occasionally, here and there, data, out of which a sufficiently clear idea of the character of the then existing manuscripts may be formed. And since it may be admitted, that previous to his time no great changes had been effected in the manuscripts—for it was not till after him that the critical elaboration of the Bible by the Jews came into full operation—the picture he draws is undoubtedly that of the external form of the Hebrew manuscripts *about* and perhaps even *before* the birth of Christ. Hence it is worth the pains to give here a short description of the character of his manuscript.

SECTION 123.—1. *Extent.*

Jerome's manuscript contained all our books of the Old Testament in the same order in which they follow one another in our present Bible-editions; he reckons, like the Talmud, eight Prophets and nine Hagiographa (sec. 55). Also the single books were of no greater extent than at present. He speaks, however, seven times 'de codicibus hebræis, qui multa de veteri legunt, quæ in nostris codicibus non habentur.' But in these passages he compares,

not Hebrew manuscripts with Hebrew, but with manuscripts of the LXX; he maintains on this occasion that many citata from the Old Testament in the New may be derived, not from the LXX, but from the Hebrew text, and in another place (namely, in his commentary on Is. xi. 1) recalls this opinion, after, by means of a careful comparison of the New Testament with the Old, he had become convinced of its unsoundness. Accordingly, in his preface to the commentary on the Pentateuch, he says: ‘In codicibus hebraeis multa legimus, quae in nostris’ (that is in the LXX) ‘non habentur, ut est illud *Ex Aegypto vocari filium meum*’ (Matthew ii. 15, compare Hos. xi. 1, Hebrew בְּנֵי, the LXX τεκνα αὐτοῦ); ‘et Quoniam Nazarenus vocabitur’ (Matt. xi. 23, compare Is. xi. 1, Hebrew נָצַר, the LXX ἀνθος); ‘et Videbunt in quem confixerunt’ (Joh. xix. 37, compare Zech. xii. 11, Hebrew רָקִיר אֲתָא שֶׁ, the LXX ἀνθ' ὧν κατωρχησαντο): ‘et Flumina de ventre ejus fluent aquæ vivæ’ (John vii. 38, perhaps Prov. xviii. 41): ‘et Quæ nec oculus vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascenderunt’ (1 Corinth. ii. 9, compare Is. lxiv. 3): ‘et multa alia’ (yet he is never able to quote more than these five passages) ‘quæ proprium συνταγμα desiderant. Interrogemus ergo eos, ubi hæc scripta sint, et cum dicere non potuerint, de libris Hebreis proferamus.’

SECTION 124.—2. *Consonants.*

The consonants of his Hebrew manuscript in point of figure coincided exactly with those in which our manuscripts are written; he remarks the similarity of the shapes of נ and נׁ of מ and מׁ of ו and וׁ and so on; he is acquainted with final characters, and mentions the likeness between נ and נׁ מ and מׁ &c.¹

¹ *Repertorium for Bibl. and Eastern Literature*, Part iii. § 140.

In his time also consonants in irregular shapes must in some passages have been used, since shortly after his time such are enumerated by the Masorites; I am not, however, informed whether they are anywhere mentioned by Jerome.

SECTION 125.—3. *Marks for Reading: Points.*

Jerome found vowels in many passages, but his manuscript does not appear to have been provided with them throughout (sec. 68).

1. With our diacritical points he was altogether unacquainted. He knew nothing of the point over שׁ (שׁ and שׂ); only three forms of the letter S were known to him: ‘una quæ dicitur Samech, ס et simpliciter legitur quasi per S nostram literam describatur; alia Sin, שׁ, in qua stridor quidam non nostri sermonis interstrepit; tertia Zadi, צ, quam nostri aures penitus reformidant.’

2. He also knows nothing of Dagesh, at least nothing of its alleged influence on the consonants בְּנֶדֶכֶת. Of פּ for example, he declares the pronunciation to be everywhere that of F; and when in a foreign *nomen proprium* פּ is used for P, he remarks the pronunciation as a particular exception. ‘Palæstinorum,’ he writes on Is. ii. 5, ‘quasi Philistinorum, quia P literam sermo hebraicus non habeat, sed

Morini *Exercitationes Biblicæ*, pp. 61 and 144. See Jerome on Genes. iii. 1, xiv. 5; Jer. xiii. 12; Hos. v. 13, ix. 7, 13; Zech. xii. 10 (*Epist. ad Sunniam*, Ps. cxxx. 4; *Præf. ad Libb. Samuel et Regg.*). The passage, ‘Caligantibus oculis senectute, ad nocturnum lumen nequaquam valemus Hebræorum volumina relegere: quæ etiam ad solis dieique fulgorem literarum parvitate nobis cæcantur’ (Opp. iii, col. 842), is always obscure. May not the modest man by ‘literarum parvitas’ have meant his own learning? Of reading-marks he could not possibly have dreamt. Michaelis understands by the expression small character of the consonants, and supposes Jerome’s *Hebr. Codex* to have been written in a kind of running hand, in which there are also modern manuscripts to be found (§ 377; *Orient. and Exeget. Bibl.* Part xviii. § 104).

pro eo græco φ utitur.' And of אַפְּלָנוֹ, Daniel xi. 45; 'Notandum autem, quod cum P literam hebræus sermo non habeat, sed pro ipsa utatur δ, cuius vim græcum φ sonat, in isto tantum loco apud Hebræos scribatur quidem δ, sed legatur P (*apatno*).' And if he doubles the consonants which according to our present punctuation require the marks of duplication, this is still no reason for his recognition of our points of duplication in these consonants; he was acquainted with the necessity from the information he had obtained at various times from four several Hebrew teachers, or from the Hebræo-Greek codex, revised by himself after the Hexapla at Cesarea, for the purpose of having by him a fixed formulary of the Hebrew pronunciation.¹

SECTION 126.—4. *Words and Division into Verses.*

Here and there, not generally, as it appears, there was a division of words in his manuscript (sec. 76); but of our distribution into verses he was altogether ignorant (sec. 77), also I have no recollection of reading in him any account of our accent-marks.

Paragraph breaks were already found by him in his Hebrew codex; but, as far as we know, not always where in our editions paragraphs and chapters commence. Amos vi. 9, for instance, he writes: 'In Hebraicis alterius hoc capituli exordium est; apud LXX vero finis superioris.'

SECTION 127 A.—5. *Critically Revised.*

Finally, Jerome's manuscript also underwent critical revision. He found the *puncta extraordinaria* already added; the readings in it adopted, introduced by the *emendatio scribarum*; perhaps also some Keri and Kethib

¹ Hieronymi *Comment. in Titum* iii. 9. *Rer. Lat.*, &c., Part iii. § 142.

were already noted. ‘Appungunt desuper,’ he says on 1 Book Moses xviii. 35 of the extraordinary points, ‘quasi incredibile quid.’ Hos. ix. 12, 13 he read בְּשָׁוֵר, as, according to the tradition of the Jews, the *emendatio scribarum* purports, not בְּשָׁרִי, according to the LXX and Theodotion. And Is. lxiii. 9, he appears to have found already the Keri and Kethib, לֹא and לוֹ mentioned by the Masora at, for instance, 3 Book Moses xi. 21. For he remarks on the cited passage of the prophet Isaiah, ‘In omni tribulatione eorum non est tribulatus,’ ‘quod hebraice dicitur בְּכָל צְרוּחַ לֹא צָרָ ; negantis est adverbium, et pro non legi potest לוֹ — i.e. ipse, ut sit sensus, in omni tribulatione eorum ipse est tribulatus.’ On the other hand, Is. xlvi. 5, he knows nothing of the reading לוֹ, although already expressed by Aquila; he even accuses Aquila of a corruption of the text, for rendering לוֹ instead of לאַ.

SECTION 127 B.—6. *In Readings little different from the text of the Masora.*

Finally, if we cast an eye over, in respect to the readings, the really uncertain or apparently uncertain passages, concerning which Jerome tells us expressly what he had found in his Hebrew manuscript, he appears almost always to keep close to the Masoretical text. If the new interpreters, together with the ancient authors of versions, should read Hab. ii. 5, בְּנִידָם, Jerome’s manuscript is expressly for בְּגֻווּם ; Hab. ii. 17, he had the anomalous בְּחִיתָן, against which the voices of the old translators seem to be for יְחִיתָךְ. Yet for proof, extracts from a larger book, Isaiah, may serve better.¹

¹ I hope, indeed, of the passages where Jerome has expressly cited his Hebrew text in Isaiah, that few such have escaped me: in the meantime, however, they have been merely collected by me as occasion served. His codex appears to me, if I may trust my observation, only

Is. viii. 9, LXX ; Jerome as at present רעֵי.

Is. xiv. 32, LXX ; מלְכִי Jerome as Masor. text מלְאָכִי.

Is. xxiv. 23, LXX ; חומָה Jerome as the Masor. text חמה.

Is. xxvii. .1, LXX ; הקדְשָׁה Jerome as the Masor. text הקשה.

Is. xxviii. 9, LXX ; Jerome as the Masor. text דעה.

Is. xxxiii. 7, Jerome אַרְאָלָם undivided as the Masor. text.

Is. xxxviii. 14, LXX, Theodotion, Symmachus ; סִים עֲנוּרָה ;

Jerome and Aquila as the Masor. text סומָעָנוּרָה.

Is. xliv. 28, LXX ; רְשֵׁי Jerome as the Mas. text רעֵי.

Is. xlvi. 2, LXX, שמְלָתָךְ, and with like variations other ancient translators ; Jerome as the Mas. text צמְתָךְ.

Is. xlix. 5, לֹא without Keri.

In short, it may confidently be taken that Jerome's Hebrew codex is as true to the Masora as even a more modern Spanish manuscript, and such are known more exactly than others to coincide with the Masora.

At least, against the many passages which do not vary from the Masoretical text, the few where the opposite is the case are of no importance, and can pass only for exceptions.

The examples are : 1 B. Moses xiv. 5, now בְּחָם ; Jerome : 'LXX ἀμα αὐτοῖς putaverunt scribi per He ; per Heth in præsenti scriptum est (בְּחָם) ;' as also seven Samaritan manuscripts with Kennicott have it. Ps. xxxv. 10 now הָוֶה once ; Jerome : 'Sciendum, quod multa sunt exemplaria apud Hebraeos, quæ ne semel quidem Domi-num habent.' Ps. lxxviii. 69 now כָּרֶץ ; Jerome : 'in Hebræo εἰς τὴν γῆν' (בָּאָרֶץ). Ps. lxxix. 1 now לְעֵימָם ;

in two instances to swerve from our Masoretical one, and even in these passages the matter is not certain. Is. xix. 18, it had, perhaps, חָרָם. In this case Jerome, however, remarks immediately below, that in other manuscripts of his day הרם was to be found ; not, indeed, as a reading of manuscripts themselves, but only as a conjecture of certain Jews.

Jerome : ‘in Hebræo Liin’ (לְעֵין). Ps. cii. 7 now כוֹם ; Jerome : ‘in Hebraeo Bos’ (בּוֹם, a mere erratum). Ps. cxxx. 4 now תְּבָרָא ; Jerome : ‘in Hebræo thira’ (תִּירָא), merely an erratum.¹ Theod. et Symm. חֲרַח *vopos*. Hos. v. 13 now יְרַב ; Jerome : ‘Pro eo, quod nos exponimus Jarib, יְרַב, merely a variety in spelling, ‘alii male legunt Jarim’ (יְרִים). Amos iv. 13 now מַה־שִׁיחָן ex מִשְׁיחָן, tamen (he says) literas esse (only a difference in orthography). Hab. ii. 19 ; ‘Sciendum, in quibusdam Hebr. voluminibus non esse additum *omnis* sed absolute *spiritum* legi.’ Habak. iii. 2 now חַיִּהוּ ; Jerome : ‘In Hebræo legimus Heinu’ (חַיִּינוּ), which, however, also according to the sense, may be the same thing with our חַיִּהוּ. Zephan. ii. 9 now אֶל עַלְמָם (לְטוּלָם).²

SECTION 128.—Chaldean Paraphrases.

About this time the knowledge of the Greek language amongst the Jews was already lost, and the Greek versions were become nearly useless to them. Hence a progress was made to versions in the Chaldean tongue, which soon acquired such consideration as to become the universal resort of the Jews in their study of the Bible; after the Chaldean paraphrases in the sequel even the Hebrew text was pointed, accented, and corrected.

¹ Zech. v. 6, where he wishes to explain how the LXX came to the reading עֻונָם, which they, as he thinks, have instead of עַיִּנָם, because they render ἀδικία αὐτῶν, he expresses himself with regard to the origin of this error as follows : ‘Hic error frequenter inolevit, ut quia, et literæ eadem forma, sed mensura diversæ sunt, altera legatur pro altera.’

² In Kennicott, *Diss. Gener.* § 84. 13, these instances are also to be found; I do not think that a gleaning of many more is capable of being made.

SECTION 129.—*Masora : Establishment of the Reading
as to the Consonants.*

About the commencement of the sixth century, the reading of the Hebrew text as to the consonants was fixed through the Masora, for which we are indebted to the critics at Tiberias. They removed the errors which had crept into the original text down to their times, so far as was feasible and to the best of their abilities, with the aid of the critical apparatus invented by them from their ancestors and offered for their use by the times. This critical work was the foundation upon which the Jews of the next succeeding generation continued to build ; it was the book of Collectanea, in which they introduced their new critical observations, but, alas, without evidence where the chief work stopped and the additions began ; in short the first chief Masoretical recension became so thoroughly mixed up with modern recensions, as to render a separation out of the question.

Thus subsequent to the sixth and the next following centuries, all kinds of remarks on the number of verses, words, and consonants, on particular phenomena in verses and points (reading-marks), were reduced to paper. These materials, as well as the Tikkun and Ittur Sopherim, and words with extraordinary points, Keri and Kethib, Keri velo Kethib and Kethib velo Keri, and Piska were recorded *in extenso*, at first in certain books, afterwards written on the margins of Hebrew manuscripts—at first, however, in an abridged form with many abbreviations, but subsequently *in extenso* by the aid of all sorts of liberties (see the section on the Masora, sec. 140–158).

SECTION 130.—*Influence of the Masora on the Manuscripts.*

The influence of the Masora on the external and internal condition of the Hebrew manuscripts was considerable. Previously their margin was clear, subsequently crowded with numerous variations; formerly a manuscript alone was the model in his corrections for a reviser, but now a manuscript in connection with a Masora. But in consequence of the inconvenient method in which the latter was composed, it has never been found possible to amend a manuscript in all respects conformably to the Masora.

SECTION 131.—*Comparison of the Manuscripts in Palestine and Babylon.*

In the eighth century a collation was made of the text of the Old Testament usual in the West (that is, in Palestine) with the Oriental (that is, the text in use at Babylon), and the result of this collation was the Oriental and Western readings, said first to have been printed by Jacob Ben Chayim, without, however, indicating the source of their derivation. Probably the two flourishing academies in the East and the West, at Babylon and Tiberias, sent each other the most exact copy possible of their text as fixed by each, and thereupon differences were discovered in from 218 to 220 passages. None of these variations are from the five Books of Moses; all have reference to consonants; only two mention a נ raphatum, Jerem. vi. 6, נַשְׁׁעָנָה, Amos iii. 6, נַשְׁׁעָנָה. Hence it is conjectured that this collation was made at a time when our present punctuation was not yet introduced—in about the eighth century—and that probably the two remarks concerning the נ raphatum, which suppose a pointed text, were, at some later period, interpolated into this collection of variations.

As to the text, the various readings here collected do not by any means affect the sense, but concern only orthography, form of the word, and other trifles. And since in our common Bible-editions the Eastern reading for the most part is adopted, either the Oriental text itself must have obtained the preference amongst the Western Jews, or our Bible-editions were accidentally derived from such manuscripts as followed the Oriental revision.

In proof I will quote the three most considerable readings of this collection : 1 Sam. xv. 6, Western עפּוֹן אָסִיפּךְ עַפּוֹן, Orient. פּן אָסִיפּךְ עַפּוֹן; 1 Sam. xviii. 25, West. בְּיִם בְּמִינָה, East. בְּיִם בְּמִינָה עַמְּטֵי; 2 Sam. xvi. 3, West. דְּבָרֶךְ, East. דְּבָרֶיךְ, in the singular.¹

SECTION 132.—*Completion of our present Pointing and Accentuation : Fixing of the Reading as to the Points.*

Between the eighth and tenth centuries our present system of points and accents was introduced, and on this occasion the word-division was perfected which had been begun at some earlier period. Already in the earliest times the pronunciation of ambiguous words had been fixed by simple signs ; now the finer shades of sound were more precisely indicated by peculiar signs, and its pronunciation attached to every word (sec. 70). Accents had been already applied to songs which had been set to music (sec. 71) ; now entire books of the Bible were cut up into verses, and the accent-figures increased by some new ones, and the *quantitas relativa* referred to them which they now indicate. Both labours advanced the general division into words. But how many Jews did good service in our present system of pointing and accentuation has not been recorded by history.

¹ Cappelli *Crit. Sac.* lib. iii. c. 17. Zeibich, *De Dissensionibus Orient. et Occident.* in Oehlrich. *Coll. opuscull.* t. ii.

We find merely information concerning the termination of this labour on the readings mentioned by Rabbi Ben Asher and Rabbi Ben Raftali.

Both, about the year 1034, were at the head of high schools of the Jews; Ben Asher of the Academy at Tiberias, and Ben Raftali of that at Babylon; both appear to have put the last hand to the Masoretical punctuation, and to have conferred together respecting doubtful passages. At least their readings have a mutual reference. Thus, for instance, Song of Songs viii. 6, Rabbi Ben Asher proposes to read שְׁלַח־בְּתִיכָּה in one word; on the other hand, Rabbi Ben Raftali will have it divided into two words.

SECTION 133.—*Destruction of the Ancient Manuscripts.*

Thus then, by the contributions of so many centuries, did the Hebrew text finally attain the shape, internal and external, presented by its manuscripts now before our eyes. Now it was no longer necessary, in reading, painfully to separate word from word, or to be troubled with thoughts about the punctuation; the preparation of the manuscripts was as convenient for the reader as possible. Is it then a matter for astonishment if the ancient manuscripts, so awkward in use, were resigned to decay? if no more copies were made after the antique form, and the modern shape was preferred? and if now no manuscript is extant of greater antiquity than 800 years?¹

Truly the manuscripts of the ancient pattern were worthy of preservation for the sake of their critical value. But at that time criticism was regarded in a different point of view from that of our days. The Jews believed themselves to have furnished manuscripts better, and con-

¹ Of this opinion is also Michaelis in the *Orient. and Exeget. Bibl.* Part xviii. § 102.

taining more information, than those of their ancestors, and to have imparted to the former all that was valuable in the latter; they were flattered also at beholding the manuscripts of their creation adopted and preferred. How probable then, under such circumstances, is the disuse and neglect of the older manuscripts. And even if at first they were held in estimation, would they not necessarily experience in themselves their own destruction if no further copies of them were made?

SECTION 134.—*Fate of the Hebrew Text till the Invention of Printing.*—1. *Alterations made in it after the Targums.*

Here properly ends the history of the written text; for the chief work was accomplished, and the Hebrew text continued now, some insignificant changes excepted, true in all its copies, to its once-for-all established pattern, as is clear from Kennicott's 'Collection of Variations.'

1. In the meantime if the elder Masorites had suffered a reading to remain, opposed to the Chaldean Bible-version, the learned possessor of a manuscript altered it so as to make its text correspond with that version. Thus many manuscripts were made to conform in point of punctuation, word-division, and the reading of the consonants with the Chaldean paraphrase; other manuscripts, on the contrary, propagated the other readings which varied from it. As often then as manuscripts in this wise are different, strong suspicion of a later modification must arise, which sooner or later the special criticism of the Old Testament will confirm. See the section on the Targums.

SECTION 135.—2. *Alterations made in it in deference to Grammar.*

After so much previous labour and the collection of so many separate grammatical remarks on the Hebrew language, finally Rabbi Soadias Gaon, teacher in the Academy at Babylon († 924), ventured the first attempt at a Hebrew Grammar, which, by the repetition of such attempts, was soon brought to perfection. In its application to single passages of the Old Testament, expressions were necessarily met with which would sustain no grammatical ordeal, because the language of the authors of the Old Testament was not always grammatically correct. Now, in deference to grammar, יָלֵד was changed into לִדְה, 1 Chron. ii. 48, and 4 Book Moses xxvii. 7, into אֲבִיהֶם אֲבִיהַן, respecting which Kennicott's Bible mentions the manuscripts. As often as our manuscripts differ in such cases, the correction of a later period is to be suspected.

SECTION 136 A.—3. *Alterations of it in deference to celebrated Manuscripts.*

Finally, in order to be certain of the greatest possible accuracy of the copies taken, exemplars were selected, celebrated for their correctness, either when the copies were being made, or, if that was not possible, as a means of correcting the copies subsequently. Of this kind was

1. Hillel's manuscript, which, even if it were from the hand of an impostor and merited no critical estimation, yet, from the name of the man assigned to it, had obtained high consideration. For its author is uncertain. Some Jews derive it from Hillel, who is said to have lived 100 years before the birth of Christ; others from Hillel the Prince, who about the year 340 was famous in Pales-

tine. Morin, on the contrary, will not allow it a greater antiquity than 500 years. Kimchi in the thirteenth, and R. Zaduk in the fifteenth century, mention it as still extant.¹

2. A Babylonian manuscript abundantly referred to by the Rabbins in their writings. Perhaps their reference is to a recension, executed by R. Ben Raftali, teacher of the Academy at Babylon (sec. 131).

3. A manuscript of 'Israel' is mentioned by the Rabbins. This possibly contained the recension of R. Ben Asher in Palestine (sec. 131), and is the same with the codex elsewhere termed the Manuscript of Jerusalem.

4. From an Egyptian codex, brought from Jerusalem to Alexandria, the 'open' and 'shut' Parashen were apportioned by Maimonides. It was written at Jerusalem, corrected (as reported) by R. Ben Asher, and served as an exemplar in Egypt for the revision of manuscripts. Maimonides himself made a copy of the Pentateuch from it.²

5. Sinai was the name of a codex of the Pentateuch, held in esteem for its extraordinary accuracy in the punctuation.³

6. The Pentateuch of Jericho was esteemed the most accurate manuscript in the application of the *matres lectionis* (of the *plena*rum and *defectiva*rum).⁴

7. Codex Sanbuki, which, together with Hillel's manuscript, is quoted on the margin of a manuscript of Richard

¹ Kennicott, *Dissert. Gener.* § 56; Hottinger in *Thes. Phil.* 1. c., who speaks also of the other celebrated manuscripts.

² Kennicott, *Dissert. General.* § 54.

³ Tychsen, *Tentamen*, p. 215.

⁴ Hottinger in *Thesaurus Philologicus*, pp. 106–110. Joh. Heinr. Michaelis *De Codicibus Erfurtensibus*, p. 35, conjectures that the critics who in the margins of manuscripts mention this famous MS. had before them merely excerpts from the same.

Simon, and cited also by Menachem de Lonzano in the *Or Thora* and Norzi in the Mantuan Bible (sec. 374).

8. *Liber Taggin* (לִבְרַתְּגָן) placed by the side of the Rabbi Jacob Ben Chayim's preface to his edition of the most accurate manuscripts; but which went no further than the Pentateuch.

SECTION 136 B.—*The most famous Jewish Critics in Europe.*

Till the commencement of the eleventh century Jewish schools flourished in the East, in particular in Palestine and at Babylon, which beyond all others appear to have distinguished themselves by their meritorious services on the Bible, since every trace of critical labours on the Old Testament, as the Masora, the Oriental and Western Readings, and those of Rabbi Ben Asher and Rabbi Ben Raftali down to the eleventh century, is derived from those quarters. But about A.C. 1040, the Eastern Jews were compelled by the Arabs to seek out other settlements. A great part of them fled to Europe, especially to Spain, which from that time became the true seat of the critical study of the Bible, and the native soil of the correctest manuscripts of the Old Testament. From this centre, the science of criticism became extended amongst the Jews in Germany and Italy, and in the twelfth century Solomon Jearchi (at Treves, † 1180 or 1211) and David Kimchi († about the year 1240), in point of learned and critical acquaintance with the Bible, were competent to vie with an Abu Ezra (at Toledo, † 1174 or 1190) and Maimonides (of Cordova, who afterwards lived in Egypt, † 1201 or 1205). However imperfect hitherto our information concerning their critical views may be, since an entire account of them has not been presented from their works, it is, however, certain that for the most part they

result¹ from sound principles, although not free from the superstitious credulity and manifold superstitious fancies of their nation.² They disputed about division³ and punctuation⁴ of words in the manuscripts of their time; made a different division into verses than the usual one;⁵ adhered to those manuscripts which had the reputation of the nicest accuracy,⁶ and consulted the famous manuscripts of the olden time, such as those of an Ezra, of a Hillel, and others, either immediately, or by means of extracts from them.⁷

Still about their time the copyists must have fallen into a carelessness which their early predecessors had endeavoured with anxious industry to avoid; at least, the abundant deviations of the modern manuscripts from the ancient induced the learned Meyer Hallevi, of Toledo

¹ Abu Ezra, for instance, says in his preface to the Pentateuch, that the placing of the *matres lectionis* is left to the discretion of the copyists: **כִּי הַכֹּחֵב פָּעֵם יְכַהֵּב הַמְלָאָה מִכּוֹאָר' וַיָּפָעֵם יְהִסְרֵר אֶת נָעָלָם:** 'the scribe writes at one time, for the sake of clearness, a word *plene*, at another time he suppresses the consonants (וּ or יִ), for the sake of brevity.'

² On 2 B. Moses xxv. 31 Abu Ben Ezra says of the 'י' **תִּיעַשָּׂה**, that the 'י' which in the French, Spanish, and other MSS. of his time was wanting, had been already found and noted by the Masorites; and that it was intended to mean the number 10. Still, on the sound principles concerning the placing of the *matres lectionis* in the preface to the Pentateuch, how could he here judge so erroneously! See Kennicott, *Dissert. Gener.* § 52.

³ Abu Ezra, Ps. cxxiii. 4, will have **לְנָאִי יוֹנִים** read as one word; Yemkhi, on the contrary, is for the division into two.

⁴ Compare Ol. Gerb. Tychsen's extracts from Rashi, *Butsorian Leisure Hours (Bätzowische Nebenstunden)*, Part ii. § 65, ff., and Eichorn's *Repert. for Bib. and East. Lit.* Part i.

⁵ Abu Ezra relates that R. Mose Cohen divided many verses differently. R. Simon, *Histoire Critique du N.T.* liv. i. ch. 28.

⁶ They speak always of *thoroughly corrected manuscripts* (**מֻונְהִים**), which were held by them in much higher repute than those that had the reputation of being merely *accurately written* (**מְדוּיקִים**).

⁷ See the passages, § 136.

(Haramah), at the commencement of the thirteenth century, to undertake a critical work for the purpose of clearing the Pentateuch from the gross blunders of the modern transcribers.¹ He complains in it that the manuscripts of his day are often in contradiction with the Masora; yet, judging from his own showing, more in the insertion and omission of the *matres lectionis* than in the change of consonants, which, however, also occurs not unfrequently. Remarkable it is, however, that according to his own account the older the manuscripts the less their variations from the Masora; hence, also, the oldest manuscripts are always preferred by him. Less trust might perhaps be placed in the decision of the learned Rabbin if the same observation were not forced on the notice in the perusal of the Hebrew manuscripts still extant; and the oldest manuscript of the Pentateuch, for instance, with the date 1144 (Kennicott, No. 293), which in Haramah's time was already a hundred years old, keeps not very close to the Masora, and, whenever the modern codices vary, coincides with the readings found by Haramah in elder manuscripts.

Amongst the modern Jews R. Menachem de Lonzano

¹ The title is ס' מסורת סין לחרורה, *Liber Masoræ Sepis Legis*. An account of this work is to be found in Bartolocci *Bib. Rabbin.* t. iv. p. 20; Wolfi *Bib. Hebr.* t. i. p. 746, ii. p. 536; Fabricy, *Titres Primitifs*, t. ii. p. 354. The most important information is given by Bruns, *Ad Kennicott. Dissert. General.* § 57. A shorter account with some corrections by De Rossi, *Ad Varias Lect. V. T. t. i. proleg.* § 36. It was used by the Jews for a long time only in manuscript, or by R. Menachem de Lonzano and Salom. Norzi. Finally it was printed in small folio by a Polish Jew, Jacob Levita, from a MS. of a learned Rabbi, Israel Benjamin Bassani, at Florence in 1750. A copy of it was printed, not without errors, Berlin, 1761. The author, according to an abbreviation usual amongst Jews, is generally called Haramah, but "הֶרְ" מָה: De Rossi calls him always Todrosius, because his father's name was Todros.

and Solomon Norzi have particularly distinguished themselves by their critical labours on the Old Testament.

R. Menachem de Lonzano performed a special journey, assisted on the occasion by letters of recommendation from his brothers in the faith, especially the Jews of Constantinople, for the purpose of collating Hebrew manuscripts of the Pentateuch, and published his extracts in a work entitled the 'Or Thorah.'¹ With the edition of Bomberg of the year 1544 (in quarto) he compared ten, chiefly Spanish, manuscripts, of which some were 500, others 600 years old. Still older than the rest were two codices of Jerusalem: one 540 years old, another still older, and certainly belonging to the eleventh century, but without a date. He cites also in the text of the work the celebrated codices of Ezra, Hillel, Jerusalem, Jericho, and Egypt, German manuscripts, and others written in Arabia. The Jews of Constantinople, by means of their letters of recommendation, promoted his object, because the editions of the Old Testament, which had hitherto appeared then, with respect to the *matres lectionis*, and the readings resulting from parallel passages, were not suitably adjusted, and because, even in the manuscripts of the Masora, many errors were to be found.

Solomon Norzi, finally, has left all Jewish critics far behind him, as well with regard to the extent of his work as the correctness of his judgment. (See sec. 402.)

¹ אָוֶר תּוֹרָה, at first printed in *שְׁחִי יְדֹות*, Venice, 1618, 4to., a scarce piece, but printed, not quite correctly, at Amsterdam, 1659. Compare Kennicott in *Dissert. Gener.* § 61; De Rossi, *Prolegom. ad Varias Lectt. V. T. t. i.* § 37.

SECTION 136 c.—*General Judgment concerning the Present Condition of the Hebrew Text.*

These fragments of the history of the Hebrew text appear to present a very advantageous view of its present state. Never, since the birth of Christ, was so much industry exerted on a work of antiquity as on the copies of the books of the Old Testament; reverence towards them and superstition had, already in the earliest times, prescribed laws for the copyists, difficult in their observance even for the most patient industry, which must, however, have secured the Hebrew text from many perils to which it would have been otherwise exposed, and without which the oldest and best amongst the modern manuscripts would be far more removed in their readings from those found by Jerome and Origen in their manuscripts in the third and fifth centuries (secs. 113, 121). Also in the centuries before Christ, the industry and accuracy of the Jews could be scarcely less energetic and patient. The First Book of Moses and Job were from the first transcribed with such religious fidelity, that even then the names of God, יהוה and אלהים, with regard to which exchanges were so probable and pardonable, are most correctly applied, as may with the highest degree of probability be shown, and in the later books of the Old Testament a newer orthography prevails which, in those where greater antiquity can be demonstrated, is not at all to be found.

In the meantime, notwithstanding this industry, it is impossible to deny that many passages of the Old Testament have come down to our times very incorrectly. Many, without much difficulty, admit of remedy, since they are of later origin, and the means of correcting them are still in our hands. Although in Job xii. 9 יהוה is printed, which can be God's name only in the prologue and

epilogue, and which should not occur in the poem itself, still we possess manuscripts which contain the right reading אָדָנִי ; for הַיְדָר, Is. xvi. 9, the parallel passage Jerem. xlviii. 32, still gives the correction שָׁדָר, and for חַרְבָּ, Zeph. ii. 14, the parallel passage, Is. xxiv. 11, again supplies the more correct עַרְבָּ, &c.¹

But in another, alas ! and far greater multitude of passages, the application of criticism is of much greater difficulty. The errors are manifest, but their rectification is so much the more uncertain, as all extant aids towards the correction of the Hebrew text agree in upholding them. Undeniable it is that 1 B. Moses xxxvi. 31–36 a series of names is interpolated ; that, however, the Samaritan text contains the interpolated names which belong elsewhere, and that this insertion goes back to the most remote antiquity must strike with extreme surprise. In the alphabetical Psalms (as e.g. Ps. xxvi. 6, 18) entire verses are wanting, which also not a single ancient version, to say nothing of manuscripts, has preserved ; who will now attempt to restore them ? The genealogies, 1 Chron. iii. 19, 24, were, in the earliest times, even before the commencement of our critical aids to the Old Testament, increased by many names which the authors of the books could not possibly be acquainted with ; how far does the text go which is from the hand of the author ? Job xiv. 11, half or an entire verse fell off at so early a period, and Job xl. 32 was so early transposed with xli. 3, that we can come to the help of both passages with conjectures merely.² Still more, in many books, sometimes greater, sometimes less, errors are found as in nests ; and by their

¹ More passages of the kind are collected by Kennicott in *Disser. Gener.* § 48, to whose decision, however, I cannot always assent.

² § 437, and in other places of this work, instances of another kind will be adduced.

side other books which have come down to us so faithfully and so accurately that the present condition of the first remains an insoluble riddle, unless we may venture to suppose that such passages, beyond the help of all existing remedies, are derived from the exemplar which the compilers of the Old Testament after the Babylonian exile placed in their library.

Where the still extant fragments of the Old Testament were collected after the Babylonian captivity, there existed perhaps only a single copy of many authors, which on one occasion had suffered much from the inferior quality of the writing materials used in making it, and was here and there faded away, and upon another was perhaps, as the property of a merely private family, hastily written and not with the greatest accuracy. Many writings of the Old Testament were, perhaps earlier or later, either before or after the Babylonian captivity, taken down from the mouths of the people, and the true sense was become here and there doubtful. Now the compilers of our canon, who brought to their labours neither the inspiration of the Holy Spirit nor the aids of critical skill, have delivered to us not merely the materials they were in possession of, but also the shape of those materials; must not then necessarily faults occur in the original exemplar, from which our copies are derived, for which there is no longer any remedy?

In short, our critical apparatus where unnecessary is superfluously abundant, and elsewhere poor and remediless where we are in the greatest need of its assistance.¹

¹ See upon this subject Eichorn's preface to Koecher's *Analecta ad Biblioth. Wolfianam*, 2nd vol.

SECTION 137.—*Printed Text.*

We close this section with a general genealogy of the editions. Soon after the invention of printing, Hebrew books by its means began to grow common.¹ The first Bible-book was a Psalter with Kimchi's commentary, printed A.D. 1477 (probably at Bologna) (sec. 392). In 1482 the Pentateuch issued from a Bolognian press; 1486 at Soncino appeared the first and latest Prophets; 1487 at Naples the Hagiographa; 1488, finally, at Soncino the entire Bible. This and the most part of the editions of the fifteenth century were printed from manuscripts, and possess, as long as we are ignorant whether the exemplar manuscript be still extant, besides the value of extreme rarity, also that of individual manuscripts (see sec. 392).

I. After this, the Brescian edition of the year 1494, from which Luther made his version, forms an epoch, because this was the basis of at least some of the principal editions, if, as is assumed by some learned men,² the greatest part of the subsequent editions were not derived from it.

II. After a short interval, the preparation of a Rabbinical Bible was undertaken by R. Ben Chayim, for the school (*officina*) at Bombay, A.D. 1526, from manuscripts. The Masora, at the publisher's discretion, was his chief landmark. It is almost to be conjectured, however, that his labours were extended to the correction of the consonant and vowel points. He confined himself in his work chiefly to Spanish manuscripts; and since his text became the chief basis of all subsequent editions, and at one time without any alterations (sec. 395), at

¹ The latest intelligence concerning the first experiments in this art is given by De Rossi *De Typographia Hebræo-Ferrariensi*, p. 2 f.

² Thus, for instance, Schelling in *Descript. Cod. Stutgard.* § 13.

another with some small changes (sec. 396), and at a third time was printed with a strong admixture of foreign readings (sec. 397 f.), we need feel no surprise that our vulgar text should almost always adhere to Spanish readings.¹

III. The following have a mixed text:—(1) The Antwerpian polyglot from the year 1569–1572; (2) the Hutterian edition, 1587; (3) Buxtorf's edition, 1611; (4) that of Manasseh Ben Israel, 1630; and (5) that of Joseph Athius, 1661. From all these recensions (the fourth excepted) many other editions have flowed (sec. 395–401).

IV. Besides this, some *literati*—without, however, making any alteration in the text, have added collections of various readings to their editions: (1) John Reuchlin (his seven penitential Psalms, Tübingen, 1512); (2) Felix Pratensis (1518); (3) Rabbi Jacob Ben Chayim (1526—Western and Oriental readings); Sebastian Munster (Basle, 1536, 4to); (5) Van den Hooght (Amsterdam, 1705, in the Appendix); (6) John Hen. Michaelis (Halle, 1720); (7) Rabbi Norzi (Mantua, 1742–1744); (8) Charles Francis Houbigant (Paris, 1753); (9) Benj. Kennicott (Oxford, 1776 f.).

Finally, without the Hebrew text, critical apparatus has appeared alone: (1) In Haramah's ס' מסורת סיג ליהוֹרָה (sec. 136 B); (2) in R. Menachem de Lonzano 'Or Thorah' (sec. 136 B); and in De Rossi 'Variae Lectiones V. T.' (Parma, 1784 ff. 4to, 4 vols. with a supplemental volume).

¹ *Repertorium for Biblical and Oriental Literature*, Part xii. §§ 249, 257, &c.

SECTION 138.—*Conclusions.*

From this brief, and, alas, owing to the absence of previous labours, imperfect information respecting the history of our Hebrew Bible-editions, it follows that all of them, with the exception of the first impressions, necessarily coincide with one another almost entirely in the text. And this vulgar text harmonises also excellently with Buxtorf's Masora, because it had been thereafter corrupted by him.¹ Now since the learning of many scholars of bygone times did not extend back to the source of this astounding harmony, the report so injurious to the criticism of the Old Testament became rife that the biblical text of the Old Testament had continued in constant uniformity, and a space of many years was necessary to convince the theological world that the Old Testament as well as the New and other writings of antiquity required the aid of critical elaboration.

The first steps to this end have been taken in our own times; various readings from manuscripts and editions have been collected by Kennicott and his assistants, to which apparatus further additions have been made by De Rossi by new excerpts from manuscripts and editions. The next thing to be done would be to set to right the ancient authors of Bible-versions, and to examine with the utmost possible care their declensions from our printed text; finally, the Masora should be excerpted from some of the most perfect manuscripts of it, and after these previous labours the entire critical materials tested by a prolonged application of that critical acumen which has

¹ I begin to doubt this; still, however, I have not sufficient ground for retracting this charge. It must, therefore, remain till further examination.

been formed in the already established criticism of the New Testament and of profane literature. After this and not sooner is an edition of the Old Testament to be hoped for which shall bring back the Hebrew text as near to its original character as is now generally possible.

CHAPTER III.

AIDS TO THE CRITICAL ELABORATION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

SECTION 139 A.—*General List of the Critical Aids.*

THE holy Scriptures of the Hebrews, as we are informed by history, have experienced the fate common to all written monuments of antiquity; by means of accidents and the errors of transcribers, much of their original shape has been lost. Criticism must therefore exercise its office, if that original form, though not entirely, yet in part is to be restored.

Aids to this end are in existence, and, though insufficient, perhaps, for the extermination of a very large portion of the most ancient errors, are nevertheless of the last importance towards the discovery and extirpation of those which have arisen in the last 2,000 years. They may be divided, according to the nature of the assistance they afford, into three classes—

1. Faults of the earliest times are discovered by the parallel passages, and with regard to the books of Moses by the Samaritan Pentateuch.

2. The later variations down to the completion of the Masoretical recension by the ancient authors of versions (Philo and Josephus), the Church fathers (Ephraim the Syrian), Origen and Jerome, the Talmud, and the Masora itself.

3. Various readings of the Masoretical recension are found in the modern Rabbins, manuscripts, and editions.

4. When these means for the correction of corrupted passages are insufficient, recourse must be had, for the Old Testament as well as all other writings of antiquity, to conjecture.

I.—PARALLEL PASSAGES.

SECTION 139 B.—*Short Notice of this Means.*

Parallel passages are not only sources of variations, but also an excellent means to determine their adjudication, also for discovering and correcting errors which may have arisen—as soon, however, as it is settled that allied passages do not require for their character to harmonise in all particulars. Allied passages, as I have elsewhere shown (sec. 93), from various causes not necessarily here to be repeated, may degenerate into variations, without inculpation of time or carelessness of transcribers.

They are divided by Owen¹ into five classes: (1) genealogies, lists of names, &c., which occur twice; (2) repeated historical relations; (3) repetitions of thoughts and ordinances; (4) quotations from one prophet into another; (5) quotations or repetitions by a prophet of himself. They may, however, better be brought under a smaller number of heads.

¹ D. Henr. Owen, *Critica Sacra, a Short Introduction to Hebrew Criticism* in *The British Theologian*, Part i. § 77 ff. (at first in English anonymous). Owen treats merely of the use of parallel passages, although more is implied in the title.

1. HISTORICAL SECTIONS WHICH RECUR.

a. *Genealogies.*

1 B. of Moses v. 3-32	Compare 1 Chronicles i. 1-4
x. 2-4	i. 5-7
x. 6-8, 13-18	i. 8-16
x. 22-29	i. 17-23
xi. 10-26	i. 24-27
xxv. 2-4	i. 32-33
xxv. 13-16	i. 29-31
xxxvi. 10-14	i. 35-37
xxxvi. 20-28	i. 38-42
xxxvi. 31-39	i. 43-50
xxxvi. 40-43	i. 51-54
2 Samuel xxiii. 8-39	xi. 10-47
Ezra ii. 1-70	Nehemiah vii. 6-73

b. *Narratives.*

A large part of the First Book of Moses. See sec. 416-426.

1 Samuel xxxi. 1-13	Compare 1 Chronicles x. 1-12
2 Samuel v. 1-3	xi. 1-3
v. 17-25	xiv. 8-16
vi. 1-11	xiii. 5-14
vi. 12-16	xv. 25-29
vi. 17-19	xvi. 1-3
vii. 1-29	xvii. 1-27
viii. 1-18	xviii. 1-17
x. 1-19	xix. 1-19
xi. 1, xii. 30, 31	xx. 1-3
xxi. 18, 22	xx. 4-8
xxiv. 1-25	xxi. 1-27
1 Kings iii. 5-13	2 Chronicles i. 7-12
vi. 1-3	iii. 1-4
vi. 19-28	iii. 8-13
vii. 15-22	iii. 15-17
vii. 23-26	iv. 2-5
vii. 38-51	iv. 6-v. 1

1 Kings viii. 1-11	Compare 2 Chron. v. 2-14
viii. 12-50	vi. 1-39
viii. 62-66	vii. 4-10
ix. 1-9	vii. 11-22
ix. 10-23	viii. 1-10
ix. 26-28	viii. 17-18
x. 1-29	ix. 1-28
xii. 1-19	x. 1-19
xii. 21-24	xi. 1-4
xiv. 21, 29-31	xii. 13-16
xv. 1, 2, 7, 8	xiii. 1, 2, 21, 22 Heb. (= xiv. 1 Ang.)
xv. 9-15	xiv. 1-6 (11- 14 ?)
xxii. 2-35	xviii. 1-34
xxii. 41-50	xx. 31-37,xxi. 1
2 Kings viii. 16-24	xxi. 5-10, 19, 20
viii. 25-29	xxii. 1-6
xi. 1-3	xxii. 10-12
xi. 4-40	xxiii. 1-21
xi. 21, xii. 21	xxiv. 1-27
xiv. 1-6	xxv. 1-4
xiv. 8-14, 17-20	xxv. 17-28
xiv. 21, 22, xv. 2-7	xxvi. 1-4, 21- 23
xv. 32-38	xxvii. 1-9
xvi. 1-20	xxviii. 1-27
xviii. 1-3	xxix. 1-2
xviii. 13, 17-37	Isaiah xxxvi. 1-22
xix. 1-37	xxxvii. 1-3, 2 Chr. xxxii. 1-21
xx. 1-11	xxxviii. 1-8
xx. 12-21	xxxix. 1-8,2Chr. xxxii. 24-33

2 Kings xxi. 1-6	Compare 2 Chron. xxxiii. 1-9
xxi. 17-26	xxxiii. 18-26
xxii. 1-20	xxxiv. 1-28
xxiii. 1-3	xxxiv. 29-32
xxiii. 21-23	xxxv. 1, 17-19
xxiii. 29-30	xxxv. 20-24, xxxvi. 1
xxiii. 30-37, xxiv. 1-6	xxxvi. 2-8
xxiv. 8-17	xxxvi. 9-10
xxiv. 18-20	Jer. lii. 9-10, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 11-21
2 Chronicles xxxvi. 22-23	Ezra i. 1-3

2. LAWS, SONGS, AND PROPHECIES THAT OCCUR TWICE.

2 B. of Moses xx. 2-17	Compare 5 B. of Moses v. 6-21
3 B. of Moses xi. 2-19	xiv. 4-18
Psalm xviii. 2-50	2 Samuel xxii. 1-51
cv. 1-15	1 Chron. xvi. 8-22
xcvi. 1-13	xvi. 23-33
cvi. 47, 48	xvi. 35, 36
xiv. 1-7	Psalm liii. 1-6
xl. 13-17	lxx. 1-5
lvii. 7-11	cviii. 1-5
lx. 5-12	cviii. 6-13
lxxx. 3, 7, 19	cvii. 8, 15, 21, 31
cxv. 4-8	cxxxv. 15-18
Isaiah ii. 2-4	Micah iv. 1-3
xv. 5	Jeremiah xlvi. 2
xvi. 6, 7 ff.	xlvi. 29-31
xxiv. 17, 18	xlvi. 43, 44
lii. 7	Nahum i. 15
Jeremiah x. 25	Psalm lxxix. 6, 7
xxvi. 18	Micah iii. 12
xlix. 14-16	Obadiah 1-4
xlix. 27	Amos i. 4
Habakkuk iii. 18, 19	Psalm xviii. 33
Zephaniah ii. 15	Isaiah xlvi. 8

3. THOUGHTS, SAYINGS, PROVERBS, &C., WHICH ARE REPEATED.

4 B. of Moses xxiv. 3, 4	Compare 4 B. Moses xxiv. 15, 16
xxiv. 9	1 B. Moses xlix 9, xxvii. 29
Isaiah v. 25	Isaiah ix. 12, 17, 21, x. 4
xi. 6, 7	lxv. 25
xviii. 2	xviii. 7
xxxv. 10	li. 11
Jeremiah ii. 28	Jeremiah xi. 13
vii. 30, 31	xxxii. 34, 35
vii. 33	xvi. 4, xix. 7, xxxiv. 20
vii. 34	xvi. 9, xxv. 10
xv. 2	xliii. 11
xv. 13, 14	xvii. 3, 4
xxi. 10 f.	xxxviii. 2 f.
xxiii. 5, 6	xxxiii. 15, 16
xxxiii. 7, 8	xvi. 14, 15
xxix. 5	xxix. 28
xxx. 10, 11	xlvi. 27, 28
xlviii. 40, 41	xlix. 22
xlix. 19, 21	l. 44–46
Ezekiel i. 15–21	Ezekiel x. 8–17
iii. 17–19	xxxiii. 7–9
xi. 18–20	xxxvi. 25–28
xviii. 25	xviii. 29, xxxiii. 17, 20
Habakkuk ii. 8	Habakkuk ii. 17
Zechariah iv. 5	Zechariah iv. 13
Proverbs viii. 8	Proverbs xx. 22
xx. 16	xxvii. 13
xxi. 9	xxv. 24
xxii. 3	xxvii. 12

By the comparison of such allied passages the most important discoveries may be made by both the higher

and lower branches of criticism. By their aid a clue may be obtained—by the former as to the mode of origin of many books and separate sections of them, and in what way in later times new works were wrought out of old materials; and results gained by the latter for the history of the Hebrew text (sec. 136 c), and proofs that a large proportion of striking errors may be traced up to the most ancient times (sec. 102, 473). Since this means has been employed abundantly further on in the examination of separate books, in order to avoid repetitions I shall adduce no examples here.

III.—SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH.

SECTIONS 382, 389 C.

The observation of detached parallel expressions, parallel verses, and entire sections, was already regarded by Jewish critics as of importance towards the decision of readings and the correction of the text, and hence such passages had been brought together in lists. Codex 196 of Rossi's, of the fifteenth century, prefixes such a list (*חלוּק*) to the Hebrew text itself (De Rossi, 'Variae Lect.', T i. p cii.). Concerning the use of this means Bruns ad Kennicotti 'Dissertat. Gener.' § 61. 2 Sam. xxiii. 4: the printed text, יורה שמש; in a manuscript of Kennicott's שמש, which reading is regarded as very important by J. D. Michaelis; it ran, however, into the copier's pen probably from יורה יהוה, which occurs in a Haphtar frequently in the mouth of the Jews. Is. lx. 2: after he had written יהוה, he became aware of his mistake, dared not, however, either to erase or mark as erroneous the sacred name יהוה, but trusted that the added and correct word שמש would discover the error. Ps. xxviii. 8: the printed text, עז למו; many manuscripts, עז לעמו; an

insinuating reading! But did it not arise from the printed text of Ps. xxix. 11, where לְעַמּוֹ וָ is to be found? These and some other examples from 4 Book Moses xxii. 5; Is. liii. 8. Jerem. xxxiii. 15, compared with xxiii. 5, have been separately given by Bruns, in Ammon's Häulein and Paulus' 'New Theological Journal,' B. vi. c. 8, § 752–754, for the use of such readers as require assistance in such inquiries. The treatise on the Samaritan Pentateuch should be placed partly here, partly further on. But in order to avoid repetitions and the confusion in citations inevitable from the transposition of paragraphs, I have preserved the old arrangement.

IV.—MASORA.

SECTION 140.—*The Name.*

In like manner as the commentaries of the Greek and Latin grammarians were for a long time propagated orally, before they acquired a written form, so over many centuries the passage of all kinds of remarks by the Jews on their Bible, palæographical, critical, exegetical, and grammatical, was from mouth to mouth. Finally, to rescue them from destruction or corruption, they were brought into a collection, which from the form of their preservation down to that time, was called Masora, מִסְרָה, or מסורת, the Tradition. At a later period, the text of the Hebrew Bible was bound up with these annotations (sec. 154); this gave occasion to the taste of the Jews for etymological play, to derive the word *מִסְרָה* (Masora) from אָסֵר, to bind, and to interpret it by the expressions, *vinculum*, *claustrum*; the volume also received the name of סינג התורה, *sepimentum legis*.

SECTION 141.—*Origin and Authors of the Masora.*

Not from Moses, not from Ezra and the pretended Great Synagogue, but from later Jews these annotations took their rise. The primary basis is older than the Talmud; the richest contributions were afforded by the centuries between the third and the sixth; subsequently there is not one without some individual contribution.

1. Many remarks are already adduced by the Talmud which are parts of the Masora. Both mention the Tikkun and Ittur Sopherim; both speak of Keri velo Kethib, and of Kethib velo Keri; the middle consonants, the middle word, and the middle verse in the Pentateuch¹ are reckoned in the Talmud, as is the case with the Masora in every book.

Already before the third century some of these remarks, by means of all sorts of signs, as for instance consonants of different shapes, and extraordinary points, were brought into the text of the manuscripts. They were none of them, however, written *in extenso* before the time of the Talmud².

¹ *Tract of the Kidduschin*, c. 1, fol. 30.

² The subscriptions of many manuscripts make a certain Rabbi Menakai to be the author of their Masora, who communica'ed it to the R. Ada and the R. Hammuna, and fix the origin of the (Babylonian) Masora under Hadrian or Vespasian. The subscription was communicated (imperfectly) first by Fourmont, from a MS. belonging to the Royal Library at Paris, in his *Dissertation Critique sur l'Epoque de la Ponctuation Hébraïque (Mémoires de la Littérature tirés de Registres de l'Académie royale des Inscriptions et des Belles-lettres*, T. xiii. p. 491 ff.) Houbigant in *Prolegomena*, T. i. p. cii. (cap. iii. art. 11, § 2). From another manuscript of Rossi in *Prolegom* cod. 196 (but with some variance), according to Michaelis's version, which appears to be the most correct, the passage runs as follows: 'This is the Masora delivered by Dusa, the son of Eleazar, the son of the R. Affe. It was received by him from the R. Juda, the Babylonian, who had it from his father Simeon. His father Simeon received it from R. Ada. R. Ada in his

2. After the composition of the Talmud these remarks increased from century to century ; the treatise *Sopherim*, written between the Talmud and the Masora, speaks already more fully of some kinds of them, but nevertheless it does not altogether agree with the Masora. The Talmud reckons *five* *Kethib* *velo Keri*, the treatise *Sopherim six*, the Masora (*Ruth iii. 12*) *eight* ; the difference indeed becomes more striking, if it be noted that out of *six* passages from the treatise *Sopherim*, only two agree with those cited from the Talmud.

During this interval all kinds of signs were employed in the manuscripts to refer to existing critical annotations. The *litteræ majusculæ*, *minusculæ*, *suspensæ*, &c., are at least older than the written Masora.

3. Finally at the commencement of the sixth century the commentaries already in existence, but scattered, were

day was a distinguished scholar in the scriptures. He got it from R. Hammenua, who had made it known at Nehardea. Both R. Hammenua and R. Ada received it from R. Menakai, who went into exile from the land of Israel. They were led by Rufus into captivity expressly that the Law might no more be found in Palestine. And by them the Law, the Prophets, and the *Hagiographa* have been fixed, four-and-twenty books in all, without mistake or error in their examinations, 22,477 verses, neither more nor less.' Since the R. Menakai is otherwise not known, the time at which he lived must be ascertained by that of Rufus. Now, there were two Roman generals of that name, who made the Jews experience the severity of the Romans : (1) Terentius Rufus, left by Titus Vespasian in command of the army at Jerusalem, after he had captured the city ; and (2) Fenius Rufus, under Hadrian, of whom Jerome writes at *Dan. ix. 24* : 'Ælius Hadrianus rebellantes *Judeos pugnante Rufo magistro exercitus superavit*' Now, if we take either the first or the last as the one meant, Menakai must have flourished either under Vespasian or Hadrian, but history will not allow us to carry the written Masora so far back. At the utmost it can only be allowed that notes of all kinds were communicated by him to his pupils, which afterwards became parts of the Masora. Michaelis's miscellaneous works, Part ii. § 37 ff.; *Orient. Bibl.* Part ix. § 69; Part xx. § 44; Part xxiii. § 94.

collected and bound up in a single volume, called *Masora*, by the Jews of Tiberias. At Tiberias there flourished confessedly, after the birth of Christ, an academy of the Jews; here, in particular, great industry was exerted towards the critical elaboration of the Bible (sec. 121); from what other place was a collection of the hitherto merely traditional notes on the Bible then to be expected more than from Tiberias?

4. But the *Masora* was not yet considered as a finished work. From time to time either notes entirely new were introduced, or the old ones were supported by additional examples. Hence the *Masora* does not agree, in the number of passages cited for every commentary, either with itself or with our *Masoretical* editions (secs. 143, 149, 152, 153). Hence it were to be wished that it were possible to distinguish the *Masoretical* chief revision of the sixth century, or the ancient, from the new *Masoretical* recensions since the sixth century. But the new are so thoroughly mingled with the old as to render a separation impossible.¹ Since, however, we are no longer in a situation to separate the principal work from later additions, I have determined, in spite of a full consciousness of the inconvenience of the method, nevertheless, in the description of the contents of the *Masora*, to deal with the commentaries of all kinds and all times at once.

¹ Jablonski, *Præf. ad Biblia Hebr.* § 32. It is assumed by Stark, in *Carm. David.* T. i. p. 40 note, that the *Masora* had undergone from two to three revisions. ‘Bis et ter Masoram revisam fuisse probatu haud difficile est. Primum Tiberiade, deinde in Babylonia circa A.C. 1037, quibus temporibus To Achla debemus, quod quantum scio typis nunquam impressum est; denique post tempus R. Jonæ a quibus inde temporibus in systema quoddam reducta est grammatica ad imitationem Arabum.’ If the compiler in the section of the *Masora*, had clearly shown what he thought so easy of proof, it would have been well.

SECTION 142.—*General Indication of the Contents of the Masora.*

The contents of the Masora are partly palæographical, partly critical, partly exegetical, partly grammatical. To palæography belongs the counting of the verses in each book, as well as in the entire Bible, and the indication of consonants in an unusual form, in part; to criticism, the Ittur and Tikkun Sopherim, the extraordinary points, a part of the consonants in unusual figures, and a part of the Keri and Kethib. To the exegetical category belongs a part of the commentaries on the reading-signs, the indications how often a word in a given form occurs to be construed in this or the other signification, a part of Keri and Kethib, the Piska, Keri velo Kethib, and Kethib velo Keri. Finally, of grammatical contents there appears to be some Keri and Kethib, and a part of the commentaries on the reading-signs and forms of words. The matter incapable of inclusion under these heads is either useless play-work, or mere Jewish whimsicalities.¹

SECTION 143.—*Separate Parts of the same.*

1. *Number of the Series.*

The Masorites reckoned the verses, and noted their amount in each single book and in its greater and lesser sections, and at what verse the middle of the book was found. But neither the Talmud nor the Masora nor our present editions of the Bible agree with regard to the number of the verses in scarcely any book thereof. According to the Talmud,² for instance, the five Books of Moses contain 5,888 verses; the Psalms had eight verses more (therefore

¹ With regard to this entire section Buxtorf's *Tiberias* is the chief authority.

² *Tract. Kidduschem*, fol. 30 a.

5,896), and the Books of Chronicles eight less (therefore 5,880). On the other hand, according to the Masora, the Pentateuch in Buxtorf's Bible has 5,245, the Psalms 2,527, &c. In our editions the number of verses in the Pentateuch varies still more. According to the edition of Felix Pratensis the Pentateuch contains 5,945 ; according to that of Buxtorf, which follows the Masora, 5,245 ; and of Elias Levita 5,842.

In order to clear up these variations, it is necessary to consider that formerly the reckoning was made by lines (lines, which were called verses) ; and since the number of lines depended on the breadth of the manuscripts, would not the numbering of the so-called verses always fall out different ? At least, in the Talmudian reckoning of the verses in the Books of Chronicles, it is impossible that our present verses can form the ground-work, otherwise how was it possible that in this book the number of verses could reach eight below the number of verses in the Pentateuch ? Or were the first chapters in the first book of Chronicles written genealogically ?

Also in fixing the middle verse of a book, the modern Masorites differ from the ancient. According to the ancient, for instance, 3 Book Moses xiii. 33 was the middle verse, but to the modern 3 Book Moses viii. 8.

SECTION 144.—2. *Peculiar Phenomena in the Verses.*

The Masora then notes certain peculiar phenomena in single verses. Thus it reckons 26 verses in which all the consonants of the Hebrew alphabet occur ; three verses which contain 80 consonants ; one verse (Jerem. xxi. 7) which consists of 42 words and 160 consonants, &c.—mere trifles scarce worth the trouble of being noted.

SECTION 145.—3. *Counting of the Words and Consonants.*

The Masora, moreover, counts the consonants partly for the purpose of detecting the middle consonant in single books, and partly how often each consonant occurs. At the same time, it collects their unusual shapes, namely, the *literæ majusculæ, minusculæ, inversæ, suspensæ*; in short, finals in the middle, and middle letters at the ends of words, which remind the inquirer sometimes of old critical or exegetical remarks, and at other times of wretched child's play of the Jews (as in the case of 4 Book Moses x. 35).

Here follow examples. Thus: 3 Book xi. 42 the י in נחון is to be the middle consonant in the Pentateuch in like manner as in the Psalms, Ps. lxxx. 14, the ו in מיר. א occurs 42,377 times, ב 38,218, כ 29,537, ר 32,530. *Literæ suspensæ*, Judges xviii. 30; Ps. lxxx. 14; Job xxxviii. 13. *Inversæ*, 4 Book Moses x. 35; Ps. cvii. 23. Finals in the middle of a word, Is. ix. 7. Middles at the end of a word, Nehem. ii. 13; Job xxxviii. 1. *Majusculæ*, 3 Book Moses xi. 42. *Minusculæ*, 1 Book Moses ii. 4.

Words are counted in order to show how often the same word occurs in the Bible, in this or that sense, under this or that form, written *plenè* or *defectivè*, this or the other way joined, how often at the beginning, in the middle, or end of the verses.

1 Book Moses xix. 8, the Masora remarks that אל occurs eight times as prenomen. Jonah iii. 6, יִעַבֵּר is found nine times. 1 Book Moses ii. 7 occurs only once *plenè* (with two Jods); Jonah ii. 4 is found nine times *defectivè*, otherwise always *plenè* (יִסְבְּבָנִי). 1 Book Moses xlvi. 18, יְרָא is joined (construed or constructed) with את האלֹהִים. 1 Book Moses i. 30, וְלֹכֶל commences the verse four times; 1 Book Moses i. 1, three times ends the verse.

SECTION 146.—4. *Reading-signs, Vowels, Accents, Daghesh, and Mappik.*

Remarks are scattered up and down in the Masora concerning vowels and accents. Thus 1 Book Moses i. 5 at the word לֹאָר it is said קְמַצֵּין זֶה, 'seven times it is written with Kamets.' And 1 Book Moses iii. 11, at לְךָ, 'ך' occurs in the Pentateuch fourteen times with the accent Sakeph.' Daghesh is mentioned at Ezra viii. 6, with the reminiscence 'א has the Daghesh four times: Ezra viii. 6; 1 Book Moses, xlivi. 26; 3 Book Moses xxviii. 7; Job xxxviii. 21.' At other passages it announces that לְה occurs without Mappik once in the Pentateuch, once in the Prophets, and once in the Hagiographa; namely, 4 Book Moses xxxii. 42; Zechariah v. 10; Ruth ii. 14.

SECTION 147.—5. *Tikkun and (6) Ittur Sopherim; (7) Extraordinary Points; (8) Conjectures.*

In the next place, the remains also of the critical revisions of the Bible, already mentioned by the Talmud, have been incorporated by the Masorites into their work as, 1, the Tikkun Sopherim (sec. 116); 2, the Ittur Sopherim (sec. 117); and 3, the words marked by extraordinary points (sec. 118). Also conjectures occur amongst the Masoretical observations particularly numerous when the analogy of the language is not closely kept and any unusual grammatical construction is found, as if no liberty in the arrangement of words was admissible, and no faults in expression had been committed by the Old Testament writers. These observations are marked by סִבְרִין, *putantur, existimantur.*

For instance, 1 Book Moses xix. 23, at the words הַשְׁמֵשׁ יְצָהָא עַל הָאָרֶן, 'ג. סִבְרִין יְצָהָא עַל הָאָרֶן' it is remarked

places it is considered the meaning must be **הַנְּצִיָּר'**—namely, here because in other places **שָׁמֶן** is used in the feminine gender, Jerem. xlvi. 45, because it is construed with **שָׁנָה**; and Daniel viii. 9, because it is joined with **קָרְבָּן**. A better knowledge of grammar makes these conjectures very dispensable. More passages are adduced by Buxtorf in ‘Tiber.’ p. 35, fol. a.

[*My Father's translation of Eichorn's work proceeded no farther than this.—C. G. J. R.*]



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